

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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[Price 1s.]



NOTIFICATION.

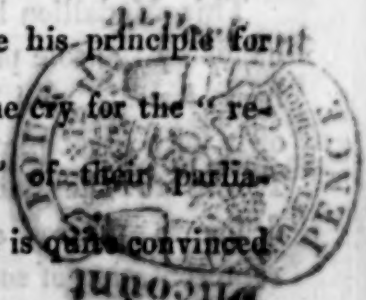
No. 167, Fleet Street, 20th August, 1835.

AN unforeseen accident has prevented the attention of the Editor to the *Register* of this week, contrary to his calculation, he having notified that it would this week appear, in the form which should be the specimen of that in which it would be continued, and the price was raised accordingly for this week, which latter circumstance is, therefore, very much regretted.

Such accidents will not happen in future. The Editor has taken a convenient house in Fleet-street for the purpose of conducting the *Register*, and all business thereto appertaining, in precisely the manner in which it had been carried on by his father, not latterly,

but when he had his office in Fleet-street, and the doing of which without plenty of room, and without his own personal attention or that of some one of his family, had been found to be impossible, and, of course the case is the same now. The office taken for this purpose will be the depôt for the sale of books, for the sale of trees and seeds and for all the business in which Mr. Cobbett was engaged; and will be fitted up ready for this purpose in a very few days.

The next *Register* will contain an essay on the political evils, real and imaginary, with which this country is afflicted. The Editor has not the arrogance to pretend that he can prove the existence of the real causes of our national degradation which are not already known; but, he is quite sure that he can enlighten those of his correspondents who do not perceive his principle for declining to join in the cry for the "relieving the bishops" of their parliamentary duties! He is quite convinced of this, and, so long as such terrible



delusion prevails, as the believing, that such "relief" of the bishops would relieve any part of the pecuniary distresses of this nation; in short, to relieve nine-tenths of the nation from starvation, by two or three municipal or ecclesiastical moves, wholly unconnected with the *fiscal system*! It is this system which requires reforming; this system, invented little more than a century ago, and not the *institutions of Alfred*, although Lord BROUGHAM has contrived to gull so many well-disposed persons with his bold asseverations about the ignorance of Alfred! Flesh and blood will not bear this; and this *Register* shall not be a tool of the horrid imposture.

BRONZE MEDALLION.]

An excellent Likeness of the late Mr. Cobbett, to be had of his Son, William Cobbett, 167, Fleet Street, price 10s., in either a frame or pocket case, both being completed in a very neat manner.

This Medallion has been put into my hands by the sole proprietor, Mr. Newbery, for sale, and I undertake the sale of it with great pleasure, and as a duty I owe to the numerous persons who desire to possess a *real likeness*, or a representation of some sort from the life,

as nearly resembling it as such a thing can. I have had a great many applications for the best print or likeness of whatever sort which it might be in my power to furnish, or even to point out which of the prints that were ever published contains the best likeness. I beg to say, that my father sat, at different time, to four different painters, and that four different prints have been published; but that, however, it is very certain, that no true likeness of his *features*, that is to say, of his countenance, conveying the expression, was ever made by a painter. Every body seems to have totally failed in this, as if there had been something peculiar in the face which it was so great an object to pourtray, which baffled all the art of painters.

It is very different with this medallion, which, though certainly wholly the work of art, and performed by a most accomplished artist, still in this work the likeness was of course a thing much *more possible* to produce because the artist had his *cast*, taken from the face itself, constantly to go by at his leisure. And here I must explain something of the process. In the first place, a cast was taken; then a model; then that model, large as life, and being, of course, of exactly the same form as the life, was copied in a model of a small scale, this model being in wax. After Mr. Rouw had made this wax model from the original model, he went two or three times to my father's, in order to consider it, and *touch it up*; and, for this purpose, my father gave him every opportunity, and sat with very great patience, having, really, a great opinion of Mr. Rouw's ability, and perceiving that he had contrived to put some *expression* in the model, and which expression he recognised to be his. I was present, at Ken-

sington, when Mr. Rouw came the last time, which was the first time that I saw the model; and, as I draw a little, my father himself consulted me as to my opinion of it, when, by the approval of all our family who were present, Mr. Rouw, with great complaisance, gave a little touch (which was at the mouth) at my suggestion; and, without flattering the artist, I then very sincerely said, as I repeat now, that I could point out no other alteration in any respect which I could desire. It was nothing to say to him that this was the best likeness that had ever been made of my father; and, though one (a painting) has been made since then, it is nothing to repeat this observation: and, speaking relatively is very little satisfactory to those who are seeking for a likeness; but it is of the positive likeness that I speak, and, if this were not a positive likeness, I should abhor the sight of it; whereas, while I have it in my hand, I, who have a perfect recollection of every feature and every look, and always shall, without any aid from a picture, can keep my eye constantly on this, as if it were my father himself.

Before, however, speaking in recommendation to others, not trusting to my own opinion or science, I have consulted Mr. WALKER, and all my father's friends will of course like to know the opinion of him who is the oldest of those who avow pleasure and pride in being such friends. I have just now shown this Medallion to Mr. WALKER, or, rather, re-advised with him upon it, having heard him admire the wax-model a hundred times. Mr. Walker has been in the constant habit of seeing my father, and always observing him with the same extraordinary degree of interest which he ever took in him, from the year 1809 to April of this present year; and he

observes to me, that this model was taken when my father was really not well, and that it was at the time when he had the *ear-ache* which tormented him, together with the *hooping-cough*, for one whole year, in 1824 and 1825. This may account for an appearance of more *relaxation* in the face, particularly in the cheek, which seems not to have the firmness and liveliness which really belonged to every feature. Then Mr. Walker says there is *too much double-chin*, but which may be accounted for in the same way. Certain it is, that this is in the original cast, just as in the model, and that it would not have been faithful, if the artist had made it less; but any one will readily conceive the difference in favour of the general expression if it were less, and will also account for the temporary existence of it in this degree, from general relaxation caused by the ear-ache, want of sleep, and cough.

The wax-model above spoken of was made a present by Mr. Rouw to my mother, who has always looked upon it as the only faithful portrait. This model, being in flesh-colour, shows all the shades of the face to much better advantage, of course, than the bronze medallion can; and, therefore, some degree of the imperfection which I have been pointing out, really arises from this circumstance, which it is impossible to remedy. My father's skin was so fair, that all the little undulations (if I may use this word in speaking of a face), all the flexibility for which his face was so remarkable, were the more quickly perceived, and this flexibility is more evident in the flesh-coloured model than in this medallion, in speaking of which I have wished to exaggerate the defect rather than otherwise, in order to assist

by words in characterising the original.

In short, this is the only *likeness* that was ever made. Thinking so much as I do of it, and being justly anxious that it may be circulated, I am very anxious that there may not be copies of this taken, a thing which in a certain town possessing so many men "cunning in brass," may be as easily forged as a key or a bit of rag-money, or, indeed, as it is vulgarly called, the "*king's picture*;" but which, in the first place being illegal towards the proprietor of this work (Mr. Newberry) notwithstanding all the "cunning" of that celebrated town, could not be performed so as to be as good a facsimile as the flash notes and robbers' keys are. Every remove from the original *loses something* in things of the nature of models, of all sorts, and, how much more must this be the case in the model of a face, where the whole of the value of it is most likely to consist in some point too small to be separately noticed!

The price of this work is not high, though it may appear high; and I can assure the public that from what I know of it, the proprietor can hardly expect to profit at all. It has been a thing of great expense, as I am informed and have very good reason to believe; and the price is the lowest at which I have been able to procure the publication of it; it will pay the gentleman who has undertaken it but moderately, or I, myself, would not be engaged in it.

I here subjoin the certificate of Mr. Rouw, first observing, that every medallion will be published with a label to which will be affixed the signature of the proprietor and of myself, and that without this label and signatures any medallion professing to be the one I speak of, must be counterfeit.

WM. COBBETT, JUN.

CERTIFICATE.

Norton Street, New Road, London,
18th Aug. 1835.

I hereby certify that the Bronze Medallion of William Cobbett, Esq., deceased, late M.P. for Oldham, now preparing for publication by Mr. Charles Newberry, of No. 74, Basinghall-street, in the city of London, is a true copy of the Die which was prepared by Mr. J. Baddely, of Clerkenwell, from a Model made by me from life, for and on account of the late Mr. James Smith and Mr. Joseph Fabian.

(Signed)

PETER ROUW.

NEW POOR-LAW

AS IT AFFECTS THE

FEMALE SEX.

From Cobbett's "Analysis," not yet published.

"17. Then answered the king's officers, and said to Mattathias on this wise, Thou art a ruler and an honourable and great man in this city, and strengthened with sons and brethren:

"18. Now, therefore, come thou first, and fulfil the king's commandment, like as the heathen have done, yea and the men of Juda also, and such as remain at Jerusalem: so shalt thou and thy house be in the number of the king's friends, and thou and thy children shall be honoured with silver and gold, and many rewards.

"19. Then Mattathias answered, and spake with a loud voice, Though all the nations that are under the king's dominions obey him, and fall away every one from the religion of their fathers, and give consent to his commandments;

"20. Yet will I, and my sons and my brethren, walk in the covenant of our fathers.

"21. God forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances.

"22. We will not hearken to the king's words, to go from our religion, either on the right hand or the left.

" 23. Now, when he had left speaking these words, there came one of the Jews in the sight of all to sacrifice on the altar which was at Modin, according to the king's commandment:

" 24. Which thing when Mattathias saw, he was inflamed with zeal, and his reins trembled, neither could he forbear to show his anger according to judgment: wherefore he ran and slew him upon the altar.

" 25. Also the king's commissioner, who compelled men to sacrifice, he killed at that time, and the altar he pulled down."

I MACCABEES ii.

The denomination here given to the class of matters of which this last section consists is selected upon a principle the correctness of which must be acknowledged; seeing that it is not as regards any crime that these enactments are made, but that it is as declaratory that bastardy is not crime, and that it is more for the reducing of all consequences upon this evil to those arising from the law of nature, and which pre-eminently affect and afflict the female sex.

There is nothing in communities which affords so correct means of judging of the state of morals generally, as the principles or the customs which are therein pursued in which the female sex are peculiarly interested; and, there is certainly nothing which so universally establishes the measure of public liberty enjoyed by men, as that degree in which care and solicitude exist with regard to the weakest part of mankind and to man in his infant state: amongst civilised countries, the experience of this is exhibited by the laws of America on one hand, where there is now the greatest liberty anywhere existing, and on the other, by Turkey, where there is no liberty at all, and where the Sultan has lately, as a special mark of favour, granted his daughter permission not to kill her infants: and, amongst the savages, from the anthropophagi in one extreme to those nations of savages who exhibit the human heart in its best character, we see, through all the gradations, the virtue of the female sex, and the estimation in which they are held, together with the care for children, all in exact proportion.

The first thing which appears in this section of the code is the *jail-delivery without trial*, or *act of grace* towards fornicators, seducers, and adulterers; and the first question which arises upon this is, as to what might have been their number, and whether any return may have been made of this, "distinguishing" (in the official style) the adulterers, seducers, and simple fornicators.

Another question is, how this Act may have been interpreted for or against the delinquents, where the overseers chose to make the application to the quarter sessions. Supposing the overseers to have been ever so prompt, it appears that they could not, before the man was liberated, cause him to enter into the recognizances to appear. There is no provision whatever to enable them to do this; his liberation is directed positively, by clause LXX.; and there is no exception made in this or any other clause. So that the men were *uncaged* at all events, somewhat in the same way in which wild animals are *given law* when they are turned down for sport.

It is material to observe, that all the clauses, from 72 to 76 inclusive, five in number, by which the man may be legally proceeded against, *were introduced in the committee*: they are an insertion in the Act purely in obedience to the views of the legislature; hence the inconsistency above noticed: for the views of those who framed the Bill were for total exemption to the man, as, indeed, clause 72 distinctly states. This is sufficient to show the justice of the view, generally, taken by the legislature; while I have pointed out how, by the particular wording and the legal trickery in the framing of the clauses, the sentiment of the legislature, who cannot collectively act so much in detail, has been set at defiance. I have pointed out, that, besides the sentiment of humanity being perverted, the great principle of even-handed justice towards men is also perverted, as by clauses 72, 73, and 74, any man *who has means* may escape, while by clauses 75 and 76, any man *who has not means*, may be dealt with rigorously.

Having alluded to these discrepancies and inconsistencies, and especially to the manner in which the Parliament has been imposed upon, I shall proceed to examine the *principles* of this code; which may be considered chiefly in three different points of view: *first*, as to relaxation of law in the protection of public morals; *second*, as to the partial or impartial operation of the compulsory powers against individuals; and, *third*, as to the main principle upon which the rights of the female sex are affected: and, I shall show, that these principles are, *leniency to vice, severity to the poor, and contempt of law.*

LENIENCY TO VICE. The absence of all legal punishment upon bad example is entirely new, from the remotest period in the history of this country, or of either of the nations, Briton or Saxon, from which our laws are derived. In America, public morals are, according to laws taken from England, guarded by the severest example being made upon abandonment of virtue; and the women of that country, especially of New England, yield to no women upon earth in scrupulous virtue. Upon what grounds, therefore, is this great change made? "Let the crime punish itself," it is said: "yea, leave the sinners to the natural consequences, which are a thousand times more severe than all legal penalties!" It is not public morals, therefore, which is even the pretended object; but, it is a part (and a grand part) of the general system of persecution on the poor, which is here to be acted upon by withdrawing the arm of the law in its correcting character, care being taken to withdraw it in its protecting character; and, the protection of the women having been the means of correction on the man, now, by the withdrawal of the law in both parts, the man is left in licentious liberty, while the laws of property step in to deprive the woman of all substitute for civil protection afforded by the laws of nature.

But, do I say that this law is in favour of even the men, *equally*? Is it in favour of human kind in any shape, *indiscriminately*? Have I not just shown,

that the opportunity afforded by the making an insertion, was taken advantage of to make the inequality of this law still greater; to enhance its partiality; to further the predominating object of oppression of the poor; and in a manner too artful for me not to despair of adequately describing? The new clauses are so contrived as to cause a pure addition of torment and of shame to the mother, while they give great discretionary powers affecting the father, in the exercising of which every discretion may be made, by the man himself who is implicated, conducive to his own impunity, if he have friends or have money: while the father and mother, if very poor, may be tortured, may be worried, may be bullied at discretion, both without a possibility of any benefit to either one or the other. Anything more complete, more complicated, more compounded, there cannot be, than the means premeditated for this purpose: and, anything more unmixed, more defecated, than the hatred here evinced towards the whole generally of that class which is thus made subject to this tyranny, it is impossible to conceive to exist!

SEVERITY TO THE POOR. Thus we see the whole question of vice or virtue is thrown aside, and we come immediately to the question of poverty, and we see that this is now the sin for punishment, for unrelenting vengeance; and we see how effectually it is pursued, by concentrating all the powers of the law against it, and by leaving it to suffer all that the law of nature will inflict upon it; the law of nature being, besides, restricted to its afflictive operation: for, where it is retributive it is stopped by other laws, and, here the accumulating security of the laws of property leaves the affairs of the object of poverty at once in the state of a game which is played to the last card or to the last move. The BISHOP of EXETER, in another paragraph of his excellent protest, says:—"3. Because another and more appalling consequence may be expected to ensue, in the case of those unhappy women who, after their fall from chas-

"tity, still retain some perverted feelings of honour, which the provisions of this Bill are too likely to place in conflict with the best instinct of their nature, tempting them to the destruction or the abandonment of the wretched infants, whose lives cannot be sustained without subjecting their mother to so much of lengthened misery and degradation."—In this critical predicament, therefore, we see man in his state of infancy: one thinks one hears the little cry; the mother's heart yearns for it, but that is against herself; for, if this infant man is to have any relief from the law, the mother is to abandon it, before which her instinct teaches her to suffer death; except that, as we know, the same instinct will teach her to surrender it to any one in order to save its life. So that, the sphere for the operation of the law of nature is reduced to the contentions between the three parties, the father, mother, and child: the child has for it the best instinct of the mother's nature; but, the mother has against her both the indifference of the man and her own devotedness; and, in this way, this pretty Herod-like law makes a cat's-paw of the law of nature to set the three parties to *s'entre déchirer*, as the French say (tear one another to pieces), and to destroy population at its actual commencement: and thus, all causes, natural and artificial, are made conducive to the one grand general end of *oppression in aid of accumulation*.

(To be Continued.)

THE CHEAP DEFENCE OF NATIONS, No. 1.

"Ridiculum acri,
Fortius ac melius, magnas plerumque secat res."

THE DUKE AND THE MILLIONAIRE, OR THE WAR-
RIOR AND THE LOAN-MONGER.

"I like the Bank of England to be the head
Bank, to have all the specie under their care, and

all the issues, and to be as liberal of money as they can."—*Vide* the Million's evidence to Parliamentary Committee, in 1832.

"On one occasion while the Public took 675,000*l.* in gold out of the Bank, one individual took out 885,000."—*Vide* the evidence of the Governor of the Bank, in 1832.

How the Duke must have frown'd, le grand Duc militaire,

When his lacquey announc'd the great Millionaire,
Who call'd, to clear up anxious scruples and doubts,
Not of sapping or mining, or planning redoutes,*
Of ditch, or épalement, lines of circumvallation,
Tenaille, demilune, or castrametation;
But to ask of his Grace, if 'twas his design
To breathe, or give vent to the cheap paper mine:

That is, if the Duke in a mood so uncivil
The Bank and Bank notes would send to the D—l,
Sweep away all the scrip and dividend crew,
And give each loan-monger the tic douloureux.
No, no, quoth the Duke, such a sharp basting stitch
I wish I could give to the Threadneedle Witch;
But, to tell you the truth, that worst of all hags
Makes my cheek turn pale, when she shakes her old rags,

And mutters a hint that, without her cheap pelf,
To the right about I must soon go myself:
That to pelf, her chemise she chang'd for my sake,
On the day that I won the Waterloo stake,
And that now e'en John Bull, without any stint,
Will send his last shirt to the Threadneedle mint,
And sweat himself thin as any wax taper,
To pay folks their own, in light parole paper,
Which this Beldame declares, with emphasis full,

Is the national faith that best suits John Bull.
In short, Sir, she says that the Bank-paper fib
Shoves our budgets along so gaily and glib,
And that I well know, unless she rule the roast,
That the lively "dead weight" must give up the ghost,

And Chaos must come, and Jacobin troubles,
And all Saving Banks burst into light bubbles.
So, Sir, I confess, that Threadneedle alone
Conquers me who twice conquer'd Napoleon,
And that stop I cannot this Bank "thimble rig",
Any more, Sir, than you would purchase a pig,
Then dish it up whole, and miscal it a duck,
And bid your best friend to the swinish pot luck;
Or dub it a "lame duck," from Change Alley got,
Where you know, Sir, a quack sometimes goes to pot.

At these words of comfort the loan-man withdrew,
Well pleas'd, it is said, with the great Waterloo:
Not deigning to notice the duck or the pig,
And contented to work the Bank "thimble rig";
For the Bank sway the Lords, the Commons, and King,
But to lord it o'er all is a far better thing.

BASANITES.

* Redoute, tenaille, &c., &c., French terms of fortification.

THE CHEAP DEFENCE OF NATIONS, No. 2.

"A report is current in the money circles to the following effect: that the Duke of Wellington had scarcely received his new appointment from the King than he was waited upon by the Leviathan of the Stock Exchange, who without ceremony required his Grace to inform him, whether any and what changes were likely to take place, &c."—*Vide* the public Journals, in November, 1831.

"Doubtless it is mortifying to know that a handful of men clothed with an odious monopoly, have it in their power to control the destinies of a great Country by withholding, or advancing, pecuniary assistance. Such however is the fact, and I remember, several years ago, saying to the venerable Earl Fitzwilliam, that I wondered his Lordship kept an old hag for his steward. His Lordship stared and asked what I meant. Why, my Lord, I replied, the Bank of England has the control of your Lordship's rent roll, and by her financial operations can raise or diminish that rent roll at her sole will and pleasure. I believe his Lordship was ultimately convinced that I was right."—*Vide* Samuel Wells, Esq. Barrister at Law, *Continue of Bank Charter, &c.* 1832.

"It has ever been the desire of the Directors to keep the issues of Bank notes at as low an amount, as they could find consistent with a due attention to the great Interests of the Country, which they deem to be the peculiar objects of their care."—*Vide* Communication from the Committee of Bank Treasury to the Ministers, 20 January, 1819.

And yet these manufacturers of paper mammon, who declared in 1819 that they deemed all the great interests of the Country to be the peculiar objects of their care, declared by the Governor of the Bank to the Parliamentary Committee, in 1832, "The Bank are very desirous not to exercise any power, but to leave the public to use the power they possess of returning Bank paper for bullion." How shy the cunning paper coiners and bonus swallows are, of using the words legal coin of the country! And again, by the same person,— "The Bank does not act upon the market as from itself, its motions are regulated by the Public." And yet the Directors of the Bank, or the Bank, (for sometimes the former and sometimes the latter deliver themselves of Threadneedle wisdom) declared for many years that they regulated the foreign exchanges: and, it was not till 1832, that they renounced the gross fallacy, and

adopted the minor and more specious one of regulating by the foreign exchanges. And yet it appears that the Country Bankers were not satisfied with the care the Directors took of all the great interests of the Country, of which the following is a proof.

"The Committee of Country Bankers represents all the Country Bankers with the exception of about one-eighth. The fund (not union) was formed in 1827, to protect the interests of the Country Bankers *against* the Bank of England." *Vide* Henry Burge's evidence to Committee on Bank Charter, &c. in 1832. Protect the interests of the Country Bankers against the Bank of England, of which the Directors declared, in 1819, that they deemed all the great interests of the Country to be the peculiar objects of their care!! But when Bank meets Bank, then comes the tug of tongue: and well might H. B. and Co., in their circular to Bankers. dated London, July 12, 1833, write of the Bank Directors and their measures in the following contemptuous terms:—"The alarm which the convulsions of that period, 1825-26, produced in the Bank Directors, and in the functionaries of the Government, induced a new state of things; they ascribed the evil to any cause but the right one, which was truly and essentially their own ignorance, malversation, and stupid obstinacy: and after drifting about from one absurdity to another, from Country Banks, because they forsooth, and not the Government and the Bank, had fostered speculation, to British Banks, from private banking Companies to public Joint Stock Banks, &c. &c., they at last settled down upon what they stupidly and ignorantly described as a better system. Lord Althorp was employed to submit the proposition to Parliament." To what insults and degradation every Government must submit which stands in awe of this paper idol which it has set up. Only a few years ago there appeared in the Times newspaper the following libellous charge, by D. Hardcastle or R. Page. "This is the plain state of the case; and who does not see at once, that this was from

beginning to end a tricking operation, and that between the Bank and the Government the fundholder was as plainly robbed as if his money had been taken from him by main force : " and again by the same writer in the same paper. " The Bank Directors furnished false and fabricated accounts and estimates to the Committee of the House of Commons," &c., &c., and it was the distinction between men in their individual and corporate capacity, that gave rise to that strong, and shrewd, and remarkable saying of Lord Thurlow—" corporations have neither bodies to be kicked, nor souls to be damned." And this same distinction has been of sovereign use in the case under consideration, because it is most certain, that if, during the last forty years, the Bank Directors had done those things as individuals, which they have done in their corporate capacity, not a man of them would have died a natural death."—See *Times*, April 2nd, 1834. The writer has said libellous because he has heard that truth is a libel. In reference to the reduction of the 4 per cents., it was not an abundance of real money that enabled the Bank and the Government to do this, for in that case there would have been no fraud; but the fraud consisted in the collusive manufacture of an abundance of paper notes to complete the furtive operation. The panic followed close upon these atrocious deeds. And yet there are writers who, unmindful of the number of lives sacrificed to this paper Moloch, and heedless of the continual backward and forward legislation, the endless revulsions, re-actions, and transitions, and of the nation being laid prostrate before the paper money's interest, and perhaps one or two great exchange speculators, on whose sufferance alone the great Threadneedle Bank continues to make a demonstration of paying in gold; it is by gliding over all these ills, or by merely designating them as *temporary*, that they have the effrontery to laud this paper money debt system as one of the greatest blessings. It is of such men that Montesquieu wrote the following passage,—“ It is said that

there are no ills, because there are resources against those ills; and it is said the ills are a good, because the resources surpass the ills.” For instance, in the *Standard*, 19th June, 1835, there is this passage in reference to the uncompromising hostility of the late W. Cobbett, Esq., M P., to the paper system. “ He had originally committed himself against a paper currency, by treating as universal and permanent its partial and temporary ill effects.” *Temporary*, why battle, murder, and sudden death, and all the ills of life, are but temporary; the affliction of the plague is but temporary; and if this scourge should reach any part of Great Britain, there would be truly a morbid, or rather a mortiferous state of the *money* market; the “ mountain of paper irrigated with gold” would become a mass of infection. Portions of this mountain would make to themselves wings, and carry the pestilence into every corner of the land. Pope wrote in his time of this nefarious system. “ It lends corruption lighter wings to fly.” Let this writer about “ temporary ill effects,” consider the following passage from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 9th June last. “ It appears that the London and Westminster Bank have put in a full answer to the first bill filed against them, and that they have since filed a cross bill of discovery against the Bank of England, in which some very embarrassing questions are said to have been put to the Directors of that establishment. One very embarrassing question would be, did not you *de jure*, though not *de facto*, forfeit your charter by concealing from the Proprietors of Bank Stock the knowledge of there being for several years a considerable accumulation of profit from your usurious bargains, and did you not all at once give to each Proprietor a “ magnificent bonus?” It is required, therefore, of the Directors to say whether they did not inflict a heavy loss upon those parties who might, in ignorance of the lurking magnificent bonus, have sold out their stock a month, a week, or a day before the declaration of the magnificent bonus. It is such transactions as these, by men in high places, that demoralise and degrade a

country, and make his Majesty's proclamation against vice, immorality, and profaneness, a piece of waste paper. Are such things mere temporary ills? Why the person who can deliberately write that a system replete with such flagitious deeds, and with numerous other doings of a more damnable character, is a mere vehicle of temporary ills, cannot have a range of ideas for estimating the late Mr. Cobbett's merits in his unceasing contest with the monstrous paper system. Mr. Cobbett "had originally committed himself against a paper currency:" had he *committed* himself, when in the face of all the boastings of permanent prosperity early in the year 1825, he foretold that before the end of the year the dear, economical, and productive Bank notes would cause a panic amongst issuers and holders, that numerous Country Banks would topple down, and that bankruptcy would overspread the country, like a torrent overwhelming the innocent and the guilty? Did Mr. Cobbett *commit* himself, when he predicted the consequences that would ensue from the establishment of the great Mammoth Bank in the United States? which Bank, according to the reports of legislative committees, has brought an Ilion of wars and calamities upon that country. There is one striking passage selected from numerous reports of legislative committees agreeing with each other in denouncing the horrible effects of the paper scourge, which I here transcribe. "But with regard to the extent of the loss which the state has suffered from the destruction of capital, the emigration of our citizens to the wilderness, the stagnation of business, the deterioration of landed property, and the prostration of manufactures, and, above all, in the change of the moral character of many of our citizens by the pressure of distress, your Committee are utterly unable to decide; the extent of the evil they believe defies scrutiny, and surpasses the power of calculation."

"Emigration of our citizens," &c Here is the sudden infliction of *surplus population* by the waving of the wizard wand of paper, the scourge of wretched wordy money.

Pervenit ad miseros damno graviore colonos
Pestis, et in magnæ dominatur mœnibus urbis.

It is evident that the writer in the *Standard*, whatever may be his information on other subjects, has not studied the paper system, and that he has never emancipated himself from the jargon of the transcendental currency doctors; from such phrases as the following:—"Discretion and wisdom of the Bank, opinion of the Bank, opinion of the Directors of the Bank, regulating the foreign exchanges, (subsequently) regulating *by* the foreign exchanges, supplying the occasions of the public, wants of the circulation, drain on the circulation, provoking an issue, legal tender, moral tender, signs of value, representative value, unit of value in England is the interest of 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* in the 3 per cent. stock (according to the Bosanquet theory), surplus capital, over production, redundant population, *glut* of money, full currency, *scarcity* of the precious metals, drain *on* the coffers of the Bank, morbid state of the money market, the currency in a very unsettled and extremely unsatisfactory state during the last ten years (although it had been set at rest for *ever*), mountain of paper irrigated with gold, discounting bills across the counter, credit notes, cash notes, time notes, labour notes, demands of the circulation, a legitimate circulation, a sound currency, advantageous upon the circulation, relaxing and expanding the currency, feeding the circulation, not starving the circulation, limited liabilities, paid up capital is *money* (paper debts) lent to government, one-third bullion and two-thirds paper notes (fractionally honest) settling the currency for ever, runs, panics, political and commercial action of the public upon the Bank, the Bank not acting upon the market as from itself, the market glutted with *securities*, danger of eventual suspension, &c., &c.," cum multis aliis of the odious and deceitful slang coined in the hubbub mint of the paper posse or union. A somewhat analogous set of phrases, to which no definite ideas could be attached, came into vogue amongst some of the French economists in reference to the edict of 1764, allowing

a free export of grain, and therefore L'Abbe Galiani, although favourable to the measure, ridiculed the vague jargon by which it was attempted to be supported, by directing the following sarcastic passage against the phrases of the economists. "Si l'exportation ne rapporte rien au Roi argent comptant à la main, qui est la seule chose, que les grands ministres veulent et sachent compter; on oubliera bientôt qu'elle (l'exportation) favorise l'agriculture, que l'agriculture est la base de la richesse nationale. L'intérêt général, la propriété foncière, le produit net, la classe productive, le prix nécessaire, la philosophie rurale, la concurrence, la liberté, le prix proportionnel, la reproduction, la première mise, et la dernière platitude, &c., &c., c'est trop long à retenir par cœur, et en substance tant que la traité des blés ne rapporte rien à M. le Contrôleur Général, MM. les Intendants en feront tout ce que bon leur semblera."

And now the dear blockheads (as General Cockburn styles them), and all paper money-mongers, may be asked, how they came to shout out prosperity at the highest pitch, with tithes and the old poor law in full force in the year 1825; how they ventured to throw a million to the Irish clergy, and twenty millions to the slave-holders, not to mention grants of minor extravagance, and then all at once discover that the working people amidst this parliamentary canticum canticorum of national prosperity, were about to swallow up the estates of the nobility and gentry. Very strange that this enormous power of deglutition on the part of the industrious classes should have become so apparent to the law-makers and tax-voters, merely within these few years, and that admonitions to the working millions to cultivate provident habits and practice self-denial, should be spouted forth by men who have contrived to bring the nation into debt to the amount of 800,000,000*l.*, and still more wonderful that these prosperity orators should have been all the time uttering loud lamentations over the great scarcity of the precious metals, the only materials of an honest and impartial

money; and, moreover, that they should have countenanced and applauded the Bank Directors in declaring and publishing to the whole commercial world that they never intend to make provision for the payment of more than one-third of their paper Bank-notes; from which declaration it may be inferred, that the remaining two-thirds, at the final winding up of the paper concern, are to be liquidated by a seizure and sale of the estates of the nobility and gentry: and then, if we may fairly look forward to such a confiscation of property, what, it may be asked, is to be the fate of the contributors to the Savings' Banks? what will be their lot in *carrying out*, to its ultimate consequences, the one-third bullion and two-thirds paper note plan? But the consequences of this system are too horrible to contemplate in their full extent; and yet it is certain that this country is destined, at no very distant day, to offer a terrific lesson to governments and to the whole commercial world on the subject of paper money, in a description of financial affairs and of all money dealings, which will scatter to the winds the flimsy systems of the disciples of the cheap currency school. Our rulers will then be roused from their dreams of wordy wealth, their manuscript money mammon, and at last be convinced that those men who establish paper systems, unwittingly lay the foundations of revolution with mathematical precision. They will then probably agree with a celebrated Italian political economist, Antonio Genovesi, who in treating upon money committed himself in this sarcastic passage. "Dopo essersi i Don Chisciotti della filosofia, e i Sisifi della chimica per molti anni lammiccato, il cervello, ed appassitisi, hanno conosciuto finalmente che non v'è altr' arte da far denaro, che l'onesta fatica, e questo fa arrabbiare molti stolidi romanzi ambulanti, &c." The Don Quixotes of philosophy, and the Sisyphe of chemistry, after distilling their brains, and wasting themselves away for many years, have at last discovered, that the only art of making money is by the art of honest industry, and this enrages

many blockheads, rambling romancers, &c.

Such men (as the late Mr. Cobbett described them, in his peculiarly forcible style) are constantly engaged in devising "some cunning scheme for the outwitting of reason, the overreaching of nature, and playing the pettifogger with her laws." And a fellow-labourer in the same vineyard as Mr. Cobbett wrote the following passage in reference to the paper men and their delusive system. "Fashion it (paper currency) as you will, no good can come of it; the thing itself is the abuse; it is bad in its intimate essence, barely and simply, and to the exclusion of all fallacy or accident; and therefore I conclude that for a man to busy himself with paper systems, is but to fill his head with a company of foolish and dangerous notions. It is the old attempt to make a silken purse out of a sow's ear, which has never yet succeeded, and never will."

BASANITES.

CORPORATION REFORM BATTLE.

[(From the Standard, Aug. 14.)]

THE House of Lords has already removed the two most objectionable, because most iniquitous, changes proposed by the Municipal Reform Bill. That house has saved the proprietary rights and the political privileges of millions of freemen, invaded by the Whig measure. This is the answer to the insolent question of Mr. Roebuck, and his like—"What is the use of the House of Lords?" The use of the House of Lords, as manifested in the proceedings of last night, is to protect the otherwise unguarded people from plunder and degradation by a faction. At the first sitting of the committee, Lord Lyndhurst proposed, as an amendment, the following clause, to precede the interpretation clause in the bill as sent up by the Commons:—

"And whereas in divers cities, towns, and boroughs, the common lands and public stock of such cities, towns, and boroughs, and the rents

and profits thereof, have been held and applied for the particular benefit of the citizens, freemen, and burgesses of the said cities, towns, and boroughs respectively, or of certain of them, or of the widows or kindred of them, or certain of them, and have not been applied to public purposes, and it would be unjust to deprive such persons of their rights of property, and to apply the same to other purposes. Be it therefore enacted, that every person who now is, or hereafter may be, an inhabitant of any borough, and also every person who has been admitted, or who might hereafter have been admitted, a freeman or burgess of any borough, if this act had not been passed, or who now is, or hereafter may be, the wife or widow, or son or daughter, of any freeman or burgess, or who may have espoused, or may hereafter espouse, the daughter or widow of any freeman or burgess, or who has been, or may hereafter be, bound an apprentice, shall have and enjoy, and be entitled to acquire and enjoy, the same share and benefit of the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and of the rents and profits thereof, and of the common lands and public stock of any borough or body corporate, and of any lands, tenements, hereditaments, and any sum or sums of money, chattels, securities for money, or other personal estate of which any person or any body corporate may be seized or possessed, in whole or in part for any charitable uses or trusts, and of any discharge or exemption from any tolls or dues lawfully levied, in whole, or in part, by or to the use of any borough or body corporate, as fully and effectually, and for such time and in such manner, as he or she by any statute, charter, by-law, or custom in force at the time of passing this act might or could have had, acquired, or enjoyed, in case this act had not been passed."

The speech in which the noble and learned lord introduced and recommended this improvement, is amongst the finest specimens of statesmanlike eloquence to be found in our own, or in the language of any other country. If it were not presumptuous to attempt marshalling, according to their merit, the productions of a mind like Lord Lyndhurst's, we should say that this last is the best of all his speeches. We would propose, indeed, that it be printed separately for distribution, as has been done with the happiest effect by the later speeches of Sir Robert Peel. But the whole of the debate last night, up to Lord Brougham's arrival, and with the exception of that unhappy peer's grotesque and extravagant performance, the whole debate, from its commencement to its conclusion, was so highly distinguished by genius, temper, candour, and dignity, on both sides of the house, that it were almost a

wrong to Lord Lyndhurst himself to detach his portion from a discussion so every way worthy of the best days of the British parliament. We are most desirous that the proceedings of last night, merely as they are reported in the newspapers, be preserved in a separate shape—separate, we mean, from the general course of debates; for they might be properly prefaced by the speeches of Sir R. Peel, Sir Wm. Follett, and Sir R. Vyvyan, on the same question. The whole compilation would well support the title of the "*Freeman's Manual*." We ask pardon for this digression; but we cannot pass by matter so precious as Lord Lyndhurst's incomparable argument, without stepping out of our way a little to suggest means for its preservation, and for the extension of that gratification and those benefits which it is so well calculated to afford.

Lord Lyndhurst was followed by Lord Melbourne, who opposed the amendment by a single argument (his lordship offered but one), as extraordinary as ever was offered by a sane man to an assembly of rational beings. That we may not be mistaken as misrepresenting them, we will quote the words of the noble Premier:—"He would ask the noble and learned lord (Lyndhurst) why, of all mankind, these freemen were to have a perpetuity in their property? None of the property of any of their lordships was inalienable. If any of their lordships attempted, by deed, to create a perpetuity, the noble and learned lord opposite, if sitting on the bench of justices, would tear that deed to pieces."

Wild, indeed, must be Lord Melbourne's notions of the right of property, when he quotes the extension of that right, for such is the limitation of entails, as a precedent for its privation. What does the limitation of entails effect? It enables a proprietor to exercise, more absolutely than he could before the reign of Henry VII., the right of ownership in his possessions. It does not compel him to alienate from the course of lineal succession, even amongst his own kindred; still less does it compel him to alienate to strangers. On the other hand, the bill which Lord Melbourne

patronised, reduced the whole proprietary interest of freemen from an estate of inheritance to a bare estate for life. If the noble viscount had been able to show any instance in which an estate of inheritance had been so reduced, without the consent of the proprietor, and in defiance of his remonstrance, he would have had an analogy to defend the favoured iniquity. Happily the legal history of England afforded no such authority; and the unjust proposition stood wholly without precedent.

The Earl of Haddington and the Duke of Wellington defended the proprietary rights of freemen with great ability. Thus the debate was proceeding with dignity, and calmly, when Lord Brougham at half-past seven burst in. We take the following sketch of his lordship's exhibition, or rather exhibitions, for our contemporary combines two of them, from the *Times*:—

"Lord Brougham, returning at half-past seven o'clock from the (probably) pleasanter occupations which had detained him elsewhere, seized the earliest opportunity of complaining that Lord Lyndhurst had not waited—in other words, that the business of the house had not been suspended—until *his* arrival:—

The following scene was the consequence:—

"Lord Brougham.—How have I been treated? I could not have believed, if I had not heard it on the testimony of those who are incapable of misrepresenting what occurred, the passage that has taken place in my absence. I did not come into the house early in the sittings of the evening.

"The Earl of Wicklow.—At half-past seven o'clock.

"Lord Brougham.—And is this a breach of parliamentary duty? (Hear, hear, from Lord Wicklow.) Is this an impeachable offence? (Hear, hear, from Lord Wicklow.) The noble earl says, that coming in at half-past seven o'clock is a breach of parliamentary duty.

"The Earl of Wicklow.—I said no such thing.

"Lord Brougham.—That it is an impeachable offence.

"The Earl of Wicklow.—I said nothing of the kind.

"Lord Brougham.—But the noble earl cheered at what I said, which I took to mean his assent."

"In another part of his lordship's speech there was a cry of 'question,' whereupon his lordship waxed warm and said—

"My lords,—I think I heard some noble lord cry out 'question,' and it appears as if several of your lordships were disposed to respond to that cry. Is that with the view to put me down?

Do any of your lordships imagine that you will succeed in the attempt? If you do, I only tell you that the silly notion is founded in complete and entire ignorance of me. Put me down! My lords, I have stood against two-thirds of the House of Commons, when an attempt was made to drown argument by noise and vociferation, and I succeeded; and do you think that your lordships can succeed in any similar attempt? *Contempsi Catalinæ gladios, non pertimescam tuos.* Does any noble lord think that he—

"The Earl of Rosslyn rose to order, and made one or two remarks, but they were altogether inaudible in the gallery.

"Lord Brougham (resuming his seat, the moment the noble earl rose.)—I have done. I shan't say another word."

"This martial sally of Lord Brougham naturally entertained their lordships vastly, so much so indeed, that they appear to have determined to provoke a little more in the same strain. Accordingly, in a subsequent part of our parliamentary report, we find the following passage:—

"Lord Brougham, on rising, was received with a general cry of 'question,' and 'spoke.' The noble and learned lord, with much energy, exclaimed, 'There, now; I expected this; I am to be prevented from speaking; I am not to have the privilege of a committee. (No, no.) I am to be put down with the cries of 'spoke.' (No, no.) Don't say that; you know it is so. (Pointing with his finger to a noble lord who stood near the throne, and who had made some remark.) You have no right to say so; you are not in the house. (Order, order; and go on.) He is of the house. (Order.)"

We willingly decline farther allusion to the painful subject of this extract. Has Lord Brougham no friend competent to advise him?

The discussion was continued after this interruption, which, distressing as it must be to all who have been accustomed to respect Lord Brougham's talents and character, served only to throw into more graceful relief the general dignity of the night's proceedings—the discussion was continued after this interruption by the Earl of Ripon, who supported the amendment—by Lord Segrave, who, though an habitual supporter of ministers, opposed them on this occasion—by the Earl of Radnor, who has made the paradoxical discovery, that the possession of property is an injury to the freemen of corporations—and by Lord Plunkett, who has made a no less startling discovery, that property held upon a condition may, notwithstanding the faithful performance of the condition,

be rightfully resumed at the pleasure of the legislature. A word to each of these noble lords. The Earl of Radnor thinks the possession of property injurious to freemen. Doubtless many self-denying philosophers, and ascetic saints, have held the doctrine, and some of them have acted upon it. It has been a favourite doctrine with the sacrilegious, from Julian the Apostate down to the supporters of Lord Morpeth's bill: but, in all these cases, the starvation regimen has been proposed with a view to the moral or spiritual improvement of the patient. Lord Radnor is the first, if, indeed, Lord Melbourne did not precede his lordship in the suggestion, who has proposed to rob men with a view to their temporal benefit. How would Lord Radnor like this experiment in his own case? But we will not make Lord Radnor "wise in his own conceit," by answering him according to his intellectual condition.

The good Lord Plunkett has ever been remarkable for that respect for the rights of the humbler classes, which belongs to a generous nature, and is supposed in this country to be an attribute of high birth. It cannot be forgotten how the noble lord spoke of the rights of poor Englishmen to hold political opinions, when, in an access of furious ultra-Toryism, he was, sixteen years ago, the principal promoter of the "Six Acts?" The noble and learned lord's opinion then was, that "poor men had nothing to do but smoke their pipes and drink their beer." Still less can we forget the style in which his lordship was accustomed to treat the expression of Protestant feeling by the British nation. Our business is not, however, so much to canvass this exalted person's feeling toward his less fortunate and less affluent fellow-subjects. Our present question with the noble and learned lord relates to that profession which affords to him the second epithet of his title. Lord Plunkett is not only a noble of birth and of nature—he is a learned nobleman, also a lawyer; and, as a lawyer, he propounds the doctrine that a conditional estate may be rightfully defeated or abridged by the legislature at pleasure, on the

simple terms of dispensing with the condition. Is Lord Plunkett aware that, down to a comparatively late period, nearly all the property in England was held upon condition of military service to the public—a condition as specific and as important to the state, as the condition by which members of municipalities hold their corporate property? By the 13 Charles II., the estates of all the military tenants of the kingdom, that is, nearly all the estates of the kingdom, were relieved from this condition of service. But did the legislature claim the right of resuming these estates, or of limiting them to life interests? Lord Plunkett well knows that no man was mad or wicked enough to make such a proposition. Even now, all the estates of the kingdom, as held in common socage, are held upon condition. Will Lord Plunkett propose to extend to the rich that principle of spoliation which he lays down so broadly for the poor? Will he propose to relieve the Duke of Bedford, for example, from the condition of his socage tenure, to relieve the Earl Marshal from the condition of his grand Serjeantcy, and send the future generation of Howards and Russells to earn their bread like the rest of us? No. Lord Plunkett dares not to propound for the rich what he, unhesitatingly, threatens to the poor. We are obliged, however, to the noble donor of the Deanery of Down—the imponent of the office-tax on magistrates, &c. &c., that he did not follow in Lord Radnor's track by preaching the temporal benefit of poverty. This would have been something too much.

After a few words from Lord Skelmersdale, the Marquis of Northampton, and the Marquis of Lansdowne, the house divided, when the numbers were—

For Lord Lyndhurst's amendment 130
Against it - - - - - 37

Having thus so gloriously secured the property of his humbler fellow subjects, Lord Lyndhurst proceeded to obtain the same protection for their political rights, and succeeded in carrying a proposition in all respects similar to that proposed in the House of Commons by

Sir William Follett, and rejected in that house by a small majority.

Lord Melbourne made a speech against this second stand for the rights of the poor, but declined carrying opposition farther; and the inviolability of the constitutional principles of the Reform Bill was, in this instance, preserved in defiance of the attack made upon it by the authors of that measure, aided by a parricidal vote of the House of Commons, and was preserved without a division in the House of Lords. Will Mr. Roebuck ask again, "Of what use is the House of Lords?"

Upon the motion of the Duke of Wellington, the adjustment of the municipal boundaries has been taken from the Privy Council, or rather from those boundary commissioners whom ministers have, we believe, already sent out, and reserved for the decision of parliament. This was a great night's work: we can imagine nothing more gratifying than the general character and the result of the whole proceeding. Let it be compared with any night's work of that House of which Lord Brougham spoke, when he said that two-thirds of its members were Catalines, Lentuli, Cethegi, and other Catilinarian conspirators. Like all men who strain at strong language, Lord Brougham is somewhat unjust in this reproach. We do not think that two-thirds of the House of Commons are Catilinarians; but we have seen sworn proof that some, and not the least noisy or distinguished members of that assembly, are implicated in a conspiracy to the full as treasonable as Catiline's, and by far more murderous and foul. But, let this pass. Short of the treasonable and murderous conspiracy with which Lord Brougham impliedly charges the great majority of the House of Commons, there is quite enough in the general conduct of that assembly to challenge a contrast with the dignified and honourable proceedings of the House of Lords last night.

(From the Morning Chronicle, Aug. 15.)

The Hereditary Legislators have fairly begun to mutilate the Corporation

Bill, and impair its essential provisions. Last night they destroyed the principle of equal eligibility to the town councils, and adopted, by a majority of four to one, an "amendment" of Lord Lyndhurst's which effectually disqualifies *five-sixths* of the municipal electors, by rendering only one-sixth of the highest class of rate-payers eligible as members of the councils! Consistent and equitable are their Tory Lordships! On Thursday they professed the most patriotic anxiety for the preservation of the inchoate privileges and proprietary rights of the freemen. They objected to the sequestration of any present possessions, even to create a new and more valuable property for the community. Last night these eminently inconsistent legislators—notwithstanding that no ancient charters contain any limitation or property qualification for the elected—notwithstanding the greater diffusion of knowledge of late times, and the increased moral and intellectual aptitude of the people—notwithstanding that in 1833 the Scotch Burgh Bill passed *without* a qualification for the elected—perpetrated the gross insult to the middle classes of English society of excluding *five-sixth* of the burgess roll from all participation in the power and credit of town-councillors. Lord Melbourne ably exposed the mischievous character of this exclusionary and oligarchical "amendment." Lord Brougham and Lord Radnor demonstrated that *riches* alone were thus constituted the standard of eligibility. Lord Lansdowne, Lord Glenelg, and all the liberal speakers, exposed the monstrous nature of the Lyndhurst proposition; but the Peers, who were on Thursday so bent on upholding partial rights, last night virtually destroyed an existing perfect right—that of equal eligibility to municipal office. Nor could anything be more absurdly anomalous than the standard of one-sixth of the largest contributors of poor-rate, for the operation of the rule will necessarily be unequal and inconsistent, from the varying population and wealth of the different towns. We cannot doubt that this unjust and odious vote of the Peers will disgust and in-

cense the country, and especially the middle classes, against whom the exclusion is so ungenerously aimed. It will, however, *mark* the spirit of the House of Lords. The people will see the utter hopelessness of any rational expectation of liberal legislation from that body. Is *property*, then, the qualification of Lord Lyndhurst to sit in the upper House of Parliament? Is "property" the title of a great portion of the Commons to represent their constituents? Did a pecuniary qualification for the representative ever practically work its end? Has it not been long condemned by every enlightened legislator and political writer? Are constituencies to be mocked with the false possession of power, and to be limited and restricted in their choice among themselves? The Lords have, indeed, given the Municipal Bill a mortal stab, and we shall soon see the sense of the country and the House of Commons on this cunning "amendment" and insidious destruction of the Ministerial measure. Indignantly do we denounce this vote of the Peers. We regret it deeply, and we are greatly mistaken if they do not soon find cause to regret it themselves. This grievous mutilation will not, cannot, be adopted; the Commons will never countenance such a gross insult to their constituents. Even if the amendment could pass the Commons, it would not be "a final measure;" the Municipal Electors would never rest till they had wiped out the stain—till they had relieved themselves from the odium of the exclusion. The effect of this abominable principle of exclusion extended to London, for instance, would render ineligible half the members of the present Common Council! Let their Lordships ponder well the reasons submitted to the Commons by the Deputies from large towns last month, against a property qualification—can they answer these objections?

"First—No single charter of incorporation, from the earliest to the present times, imposes any such test of eligibility to office. The enfranchised inhabitants, under all the royal charters, enjoyed a full discretion to select those as their governing body and municipal officers whom they deemed 'the most honest and discreet men.'"

"Second.—The effect of the requirement of a property qualification in the representative, is to narrow the choice of the electors—an equal injustice on the electors and the governed.

"Third.—The invariable result of the principle has been, that, in practice, a property qualification was rarely productive of good, and frequently produces evil, by preventing the constituency from availing itself of the abilities of some of its most valuable members. Such restrictive laws have never excluded the unprincipled from office or authority, but frequently deprived the people of the services of conscientious, and otherwise qualified candidates for civil office.

"Fourth.—A property qualification is only another mode of oligarchical or self election. A mischievous law inconsistently restricts the privilege of choice, and illiberally proscribes certain classes of society; dividing a constituency into two sections—one the electors, the other an exclusive class, from whose ranks alone the officers may be selected. Thus the Legislature commits the inconsistency of pretending to give a constituency the privilege of choice, and restricting that choice within a narrow and inflexible boundary.

"Fifth.—Age, sex, state of mind, freedom from convicted guilt, ineligibility by reason of other consistent offices or avocations, are justifiable limitations of the choice of a constituency; but the possession of a specified amount of property never can secure a *real* qualification for office. 'A man may be rich one day and poor another, without any loss of fitness or ability to fill the office of representative: the possession of a specified amount of property cannot always be exactly ascertained, and the requirement of the law can be so easily evaded by the creation of a fictitious ownership as to make it a nullity.'

"We might add various other reasons, and produce innumerable facts to prove the inutility of a property qualification in the representative. We content ourselves, however, by asking you, as Members of Parliament, what has been, and is, the notorious and unjust effect of the principle and practice in the constitution of the House of Commons? Further, we respectfully remind you, that the Scotch Bills of Parliamentary and Burgh Reform were passed without any such clauses as a property qualification, and that the Ministerial measure involves no such impolicy or injustice."

But reasoning is vain. If blind to their own interest and influence in the country—if determined to lose the entire respect and regard of the country, they will obstinately pursue their course of hostility to reform and liberal Government, they must take the consequences. Lord LYNTHURST obscurely insinuated a sort of compromise, by reducing the scale of admission to the councils, through an alternative qualification of possession of personal property to the value of 500*l.* or 1000*l.* Much as we object to a qualification of any quality

or amount, we are well aware that even many Reformers would not oppose a moderate standard; and we do hope, therefore, that the Tory Peers, on the bringing up of the Report, will so far modify their destructive "amendment." But we will not conceal from the country that we apprehend the total destruction of the Bill on Monday. It is rumoured that the arch leader of the Opposition, Lord LYNTHURST, will then move, THAT ALL CORPORATE AND MAGISTERIAL OFFICERS, AND ALL MEMBERS OF THE EXISTING CORPORATIONS, SHALL CONTINUE IN THEIR RESPECTIVE OFFICES FOR THE TERM OF THEIR NATURAL LIVES, thus postponing for a generation the operation of this great remedial measure!!! The Bill which has become so dear to the people of England, will be merely an abstract essay of Municipal Reform; its practical utility will never be realized by the present inhabitants of corporate towns. Will the people endure these monstrous mutilations? Will the Commons submit to the insult offered to themselves, the real representatives of public opinion? We trust that in this political crisis and approaching collision the Commons of England will *not* succumb to the Peers. It is the duty of the Liberal Members not to leave town; and every real Reformer will next week mount guard in defence of popular rights and MUNICIPAL REFORM.

(From the Morning Post, Aug. 18.)

Lord Abinger in the opinion given by him, as counsel on the corporation commission, observed that "there can be no civil liberty where the law that protects the rights and enjoyment of property, and of privileges or franchise, is not administered in a certain known course." He pronounced it to be "not consistent with the law or the liberty of the subject that commissioners appointed by the crown to inquire into matters of property or franchise, or any other matters or grievances of which the King's ordinary courts have cognizance, should be endowed with a power of compulsion, either for the disclosure of facts or the attendance of witnesses."

Incontrovertible as are these positions, the magnitude of the evil pointed at in this exposure of the attempted usurpation upon the jurisdiction of the courts of justice, and the rights and immunities of a free people, becomes trivial in comparison with the "destructive" tendency of the doctrines put forth in parliament by the Prime Minister himself touching the very foundations of the rights of property. It appears upon the commissioners' report, that extensive commons often belong to the freemen of corporate towns, the benefits of which are shared by them in various modes. Sometimes these are farmed out, but more frequently the freemen themselves exercise, under restriction, the rights in common or pasturage. In one place alone, namely, "at Berwick-upon-Tweed, where the affairs are administered by the whole body of burgesses, the value of the lands of which the profits are taken by the freemen is near 6,000*l.* per annum." How did Lord Melbourne meet the amendment preserving that which constitutes to the freemen, as to all persons having interests in land, the chief value of their property, namely, transmissibility to their children? His lordship coolly asserted that these rights of property were not advantageous, but, on the contrary, prejudicial to the freemen themselves and to the public—that, upon the principles of political economy, the lands in question might be made more productive to the community by a different application of them, and by placing them in other hands. Now, assuming for the present that interests, proved by Lord Lyndhurst to be of the present aggregate value of half a million of money, are, however, of no value to the tens of thousands of poor men, who hold them by a title better founded than the titles to half the estates in the kingdom, where is the other branch of Lord Melbourne's argument to end?

The modes of acquisition, as well as of enjoyment of property in land in this country, are infinitely diversified. If a new distribution of any such property is to be enforced, on the ground taken by

the present ministers, why is not the principle (which is in fact that, not of Lord Melbourne, but of Mr. Owen) to be carried out to the full extent? Are the town common lands, the rights of pasturage, the rents, the tolls and dues, the franchises and exemptions enjoyed throughout the kingdom by the numerous class of freemen, the only property to which, in the original foundation or gifts to the ancestors and predecessors of the present holders, some duties were annexed? Take the first which occurs—the lay impropriations of tithes, alluded to by the Earl of Haddington while absolutely gasping with astonishment at the language adopted by the weak and deluded minister. It is undeniable that in many parishes in this kingdom a miserable pittance only is received by the vicar or perpetual curate, discharging laborious duties, and that the great majority of the inhabitants sensibly feel the burden of the rates necessary for keeping up the place of divine worship. At the same time the great tithes (of large annual value) go to swell the princely revenue of some overgrown proprietor in the neighbourhood, or, as often happens, some utter stranger to the place from which the tithes are drawn. The original obligations annexed to the gift of tithes (and which, in form be it remembered, were transferred with the benefit to the grantees of church property at the Reformation) have long fallen into desuetude. But once let titles to property of this kind be shaken by the question "are the existing distribution and application of the tithes and glebe lands, originally belonging to the Church, the most advantageous possible to the community at large?" and many noble and wealthy adherents of the present ministry will have reason to repent of their concurrence in the attack upon the comparatively insignificant rights of the freemen.

Extreme cases, says Lord Brougham, are the tests of principle. Let us suppose the following:—In a parish in the neighbourhood of the metropolis it is found necessary to enlarge the church (a very ancient structure), in order to adapt it to the increasing want of church

room, especially for the poor. The inhabitants, though mostly persons of moderate property, cheerfully contribute, and a sum, large considering the circumstances of the people, is raised. It is insufficient, and application for assistance is respectfully made to a certain noble earl, the proprietor of a fine domain in the neighbourhood, and who, as lay impropiator, draws in tithes from this very parish no less a sum than 1,500*l.* a year. An evasive answer is at first returned, the subscription is still insufficient, and upon a further application being made to the noble impropiator, the people have the satisfaction of being informed that his lordship has on consideration determined to contribute—nothing. This, it may be thought, must be the conduct of one of those to whom Lord John Russell applies the abusive terms “friends and creatures of corruption.” By no means. It is not necessary to go beyond Putney in order to learn that such things may be where Whig statesmen of a very liberal class in politics are concerned; nay, even it may be the case “of the personage who, by reason of several passages in his ministerial history, will be better known to posterity by the title of ‘honest Lord Althorp!’”

Now the right of withholding every portion of the revenues derived from the tithes in such cases must be allowed to be absolute. By the force of royal donations, and of long usage, every question, as to the application of this property, is at present precluded. No one is entitled to complain that property originally given for spiritual purposes should be squandered in the accumulation of literary toys, or the production of monstrosities in grazing. We would only say to every noble proprietor of tithes and church lands who may be disposed to aid the ministry and the movement on the present question, “*obsta principiis.*”

List of the Minority of thirty-nine who voted on Friday against the Amendment of Lord Lyndhurst.

Auckland	Charlemont
Marq. Lansdowne	Mostyn
Melbourne	Leitrim

Holland
Lichfield
Duke of Grafton
Duke of Cleveland
Duke of Richmond
Marq. Northampton
Marq. Queensbury
Marq. Conyngham
Marq. Westminster
Gardner
Barham
Albermarle
Marquis Headfort
Brougham and Vaux
Templemore
Poltimore
Radnor

Seagrave
Errol
Scarborough
Strafford
Howard of Effingham
Plunkett
Hatherton
Thanet
Minto
Teynham
Torrington
Saye and Sele
Ducie
Bishop of Chichester
Bishop of Hereford
Bishop of Bristol

MAJORITY.

DUKES.

Cumberland
Leeds
Rutland
Portland
Manchester
Dorset
Northumberland
Wellington

MARQUESESSES.

Salisbury
Bute
Northampton
Camden
Cholmondeley
Westmeath
Bristol

EARLS.

Devon
Westmoreland
Chesterfield
Sandwich
Doncaster (Duke of Buccleuch)
Shaftesbury
Abingdon
Moreton
Home
Airlie
Dartmouth
Tankerville
Aylesford
Harrington
Hardwicke
De Lawarr
Bathurst
Hillsborough (Marquess of Downshire)
Mount Edgecumbe
Beverley
Mansfield
Carnarvon
Liverpool
Wicklow
Bandon
Caledon

Roslyn
Wilton
Limerick
Rosse
Orford
Lonsdale
Harrowby
Verulam
Brownlow
St. German's
Beauchamp
Glengall
De Grey
Falmouth
Vane (Marquess of Londonderry)
Ripon

VISCOUNTS.

Hereford
Arbuthnot
Sydney
St. Vincent
Gordon (Earl of Aberdeen)
Exmouth
Combermere
Canterbury

BARONS.

De Roos
Willoughby de Broke
St. John
Forbes
Saltoun
Sinclair
Colville
Reay
Hay (Earl of Kinnoul)
Boston
Dynevor
Kenyon
Camden (Earl of Brecknock)
Bagot
Rodney
Montagu

BARONS.	BARONS.
Braybrooke	Downes
Douglas	Bexley
Gage (Viscount Gage)	Penshurst (Viscount Strangford)
Stuart of Castle Stuart (Earl of Moray)	Wharnccliffe
Stewart of Garliess (Earl of Galloway)	Lyndhurst
Calthorpe	Tenterden
Bayning	Melross (Earl of Had-dington)
Wodehouse	Cowley
Fitzgibbon (Earl of Clare)	Stuart de Rothsay
Northwick	Heytesbury
Carbery	Skelmersdale
Farnham	Segrave
Redesdale	Fitzgerald
Ellenborough	Ashburton
Sheffield (Earl of Sheffield)	ARCHBISHOP. Canterbury.
Manners	
Meldrum (Earl of Aboyne)	BISHOPS. London
Harris	Winchester
Prudhoe	Lichfield and Coventry
Colchester	Worcester
Ker (Marquess of Lothian)	St. David's
Ormonde (Marquess of Ormonde)	Carlisle
Oriel (Visct. Ferrard)	Rochester
Ravensworth	Llandaff
Forester	Oxford
	Gloucester
	Exeter

PROTEST AGAINST THE MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS BILL.

Reasons against going into committee upon the Municipal Corporations Bill:—

1. That parliament can or ought to have no power which is not founded in wisdom, justice, or equity.

2. That corporations hold by prescription and by royal charter, which give as good a title, and confirm to them the possession of their rights, privileges, and property, by a guarantee as secure and binding as that by which any individual British subject whatsoever claims to enjoy his possessions, whatever they may be.

3. That the King alone is by law instituted visiter of corporations, and has the right to inquire into and redress any delinquencies through his Majesty's Court of King's Bench, or their courts, and therefore that the irregular interference of parliament is a fearful assumption of power, and a perilous inroad upon the royal prerogative.

4. That the bill, called "An Act to provide for the Regulation of Municipal

Corporations in England and Wales," is, in fact, a bill of pains and penalties, founded upon the report of an illegal commission.

5. That the House of Lords, in its judicial capacity, cannot go into the allegations of such a bill until sufficient ground for doing so be proved by evidence at the bar.

6. That, therefore, no step ought to have been taken, nor the bill pass through any of the usual stages, until such evidence has been heard and the charges substantiated.

7. That the principle of the bill, as well as the bill itself, is opposed to all constitutional justice and political wisdom, and may fairly be suspected, by a sacrifice of the defenceless corporations, to be intended to commence the overthrow of our civil, ecclesiastical, and all other ancient and cherished national institutions.

For these reasons I emphatically protest against the bill going into committee, or passing into a law.

NEWCASTLE.

LETTER II.

TO THE RT. HON. WILLIAM PITT,
ON THE CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

INTRODUCTION--(concluded from p. 356.)

SIR,

THOUGH the doctrine of *never-ending adherence* would be, as far as relates to his own case, very agreeable to every man who has once been the object of support or of praise; though there is not a country in the world, and scarcely a rank of life in any one country, where men would not, almost without exception, anxiously desire to retain the suffrage which they have, at any time, been able to acquire; though this doctrine would necessarily be of catholic convenience, few will deny, that to you it would be far more convenient than to any other person in this kingdom, and, perhaps, than to any other person in the

whole world. To all those, who have ever divided the voices of any portion of the people; to all those, who have ever been the object of contending voters, from the lowest to the highest, from a chairman of Sir Brook's committees to a member of parliament, it must be of some importance to have a claim to a perpetuity of all the support they have heretofore received: how valuable then, or, rather how far beyond all valuation, must this claim be to you! To you, who have been prime-minister for twenty years; who have had, during that time, pass through your hands seven hundred millions of money; who have had a majority in the parliament ever since the year 1785; and who, owing to the peculiar nature of the times and the alarm which prevailed for the safety of the throne, have, first or last, had the support of nineteen twentieths of the people! Only establish this claim, therefore, and you are safe from every assailant upon earth, except Buonaparté: let your measures be what they may, nothing internal can ever shake your power; and if we could be prevailed on to subscribe to the doctrine which is above described, and which your partisans openly teach, you and your noble associate might (Buonaparté's good pleasure being obtained) rule over us to the end of your natural lives; and might, for aught I can see to the contrary, bequeath us at your death, upon the principle that those who had already so cheerfully submitted to your delegate, could have no reasonable objection to submit to your legatee. But, Sir, to this doctrine I do not subscribe. At a period not far removed, a great majority of your former supporters will, I trust, be found to reject it with disdain; and, acting upon those public principles, which I am now proceeding further to develop, I feel confident, that they will cease to boast of the honour of being your partisans, the lifeless pageants in a political show, at the moment that their country is on the verge of destruction.

Having, in the preceding letter, proved, that, in ceasing to adhere to

you, I departed from no principle that I had ever entertained, or professed to entertain; that, to the cause of which I had regarded you as the champion, I remained firmly attached after you had totally forsaken it, together with all your openly and solemnly declared objects and determinations relative thereunto; that it is you who are, in this respect, chargeable with defection, and that, to borrow an illustration from your newly and miraculously acquired science, it was not, in this case, the soldier that deserted his general, but the general that deserted his army, or, all that part of it, at least, which was not composed of mere mercenaries, and which could not be inveigled to follow him after he had abandoned the cause it had taken up arms to maintain: having, and in a manner which I cannot help believing to be incontrovertible, established this point, it is my intention next to examine into the charge of *going over*, as it is called, to join with Mr. Fox; first unequivocally avowing, that, as far as a person like me can with propriety be said to join with a great political leader, I have joined with Mr. Fox, insomuch as he, together with Lords Fitzwilliam, Spencer, Grenville, Mr. Windham, and the other distinguished persons that are co-operating with him in parliament, are acting upon those principles that I have *always* professed, and are endeavouring, if I correctly judge of their views, to procure the adoption of those measures, relating as well to our internal as our external policy, without which I am, for the reasons I have heretofore given, and in these letters propose more elaborately to give, sincerely convinced that England will, at no far-distant day, become a colony of imperial France.

In those political regions, where it is the established custom to consider every question merely in a personal light; where all political writers are regarded as bondsmen to one master or another; where the abject votaries cry, "away with the measures and give us the men;" in those regions of servility, obduracy, and wilful blindness, so far am I from expecting to produce conviction, that I do not even hope to be understood.—

But, amongst those who retain a due respect for principles; those who claim a right to think for themselves, and acknowledge the same right in others; those, who, to use a very strong, though in this case, not inapplicable phrase, still "dare say that their souls are their own;" amongst such persons it will, in order to come at a just notion as to my going over to Mr. Fox, be thought not unnecessary to inquire *whence* I have gone and *whither*; that is to say, from *what cause* or *what principle* I have departed, and to what cause or what principle I have gone; in what cause or on what principle it was that I was *opposed* to Mr. Fox, and in what cause or on what principle it is that I now have *joined with him*.

My career as a writer began with the *French Revolution* and the subjects closely connected therewith. Mr. Fox's political life naturally divides itself, for consideration, under five principal heads, corresponding with five great events of the country; to wit; the *American War*, the *India Bill*, the *Regency*, the war against the *French Republic*, and the *Present War*.

As to the first of these, in which you, treading in the steps of your father, co-operated with Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, and, I believe, Mr. Windham, I, with the knowledge, which peculiar though accidental advantages have enabled me to acquire, have no hesitation in saying that I should have differed from you all. The *India Bill* I never read: I confess myself almost totally ignorant of the question in dispute; but, unless Mr. Fox's bill would have made a job of India, and rendered an extensive and valuable colony a mill-stone round the neck of England; unless it would have created in Leadenhall-street a set of sovereigns the rivals of the house of Brunswick; unless it would have powerfully assisted in impoverishing the landholders in England in order to carry on wars for the enriching of upstarts to come and thrust them from their fields and their mansions; unless its tendency was to expose us to the cruel mortification of beholding

"The wealth of climes, where savage nations
roam,
"Pillag'd from slaves to purchase slaves at
home;"

unless these were the consequences, to which Mr. Fox's India system inevitably tended, I think it would, at this time, be very hard to shew, that it could have been so injurious to the kingdom as that which was adopted in its stead. On the Regency question I also confess my ignorance, and, I hope it is one upon which no circumstances will ever arise so pressing as to induce me to submit my crude notions to the public: though, I cannot help thinking, that the present is, of all others, the season for men of learning and of talents to bring forward, through the means of the press, some principles, that may, if the necessity should come, prepare our minds for the discussion; and thereby prevent the adoption of any hasty, unadvised measure, any measure of "existing circumstances," any hazardous "experiment," any popular innovation, that would tend to efface from the minds of the people the remnant of that reverential awe, which they once entertained for the kingly office, and which, though less amiable, perhaps, than personal attachment to the sovereign, is assuredly not less conducive to the permanent security of the throne. Upon neither of these subjects, especially as connected with the public character or conduct of yourself or of Mr. Fox, did I ever attempt to enter, so far, at least, as to express any thing bearing the marks of a deliberate opinion.

The French Revolution, then, or, to render the object more definite, the *last war* waged by England against France was the cause, and the only cause, in which I stood opposed to Mr. Fox; he maintaining that the war was neither just nor necessary, and I endeavouring to maintain that it was both necessary and just. And here, Sir, I might, if I chose, revoke my opinion upon a plea much more satisfactory than any which you have brought forward, or can bring forward, for the revoking of your opinion with respect to Mr. Addington and Lord St. Vincent, particularly the former,

with whom, previous to your recommendation of him to the parliament, you had lived in habits of intimacy even from your childhood. My utter inexperience and my youth would form no feeble apology for adopting and pursuing an error, especially if that error evidently arose from a laudable feeling; and, though, generally speaking, twenty-eight years of age is not very young, yet a person of that age must be regarded as a young politician, if he be only then beginning to *read*, and even to *talk*, as well as to write upon politics, which was literally the case with respect to me. But, this plea, as well as that which might fairly be founded upon the circumstances connected with my local situation, which exposed me constantly to hear the expression of wishes hostile to the warlike efforts of my country, and which, therefore, naturally wedded me more closely to the cause in which she was at war, and, of course, led me to defend and applaud the man by whom the measures of that war were principally directed; all these grounds of apology I explicitly forego and disclaim; distinctly declaring, that, with regard to the French revolution itself, as well as with regard to the justice and necessity of the last war with France, I still retain all those principles, as to which I was, both during and since the war, opposed to Mr. Fox.

The peace came: the war was no more: and why did not my opposition to Mr. Fox cease, when the cause of that opposition ceased to exist? In the first place, if men continue to act at all, they must *oppose*, or *co-operate*; and, after an opposition, especially of long duration and of great warmth, there must, amongst men not blessed with the singularly happy disposition of the Hawkesburys and the Castlereaghs, be both time and circumstance to produce co-operation. In the next place, the cause of opposition had not ceased. Considered as to political principles and opinions, a peace always must be inseparable from the war that it has put an end to; because the terms of the peace are the result, though, as is proved, I think, by the present case, not always the natural result, of the war. I continued opposed

to Mr. Fox, because Mr. Fox continued to oppose the principles upon which I had so long been acting; because he approved of the peace upon the very ground that he had always disapproved of the war; because he maintained that the peace was absolutely necessary to the country, and was a necessary consequence of the war; while I was fully persuaded, and most earnestly endeavoured to prove, that it was not. With respect to you, Mr. Fox was completely triumphant. He had constantly told you, that the necessary consequences of the war would be an extension of the dominion and an increase of the power of France, confirmed by a disgraceful peace on the part of Great Britain.—And, Sir, that either the peace of Amiens was *not necessary*, or that Mr. Fox's predictions were *fulfilled to the letter*, is, I think, a proposition, which will never admit of dispute. The ostensible ministers, those persons in whose behalf you demanded "the most grateful thanks of the country" for the peace they had made; those persons did, indeed, in words, "disclaim the plea of necessity;" yet, your immediate successor, the once "able" but now "imbecile" (I use your own epithets) Mr. Addington, declared that "peace was necessary in order to husband our resources against another day of trial;" while his worthy and now your worthy colleague Lord Hawkesbury, in most manfully denying that it was "a peace of necessity," did, with not less discrimination than candour, acknowledge that it was "a necessary peace;" while Lord Levison Gower, declaring the peace to be "a capitulation for safety," gave it his cordial support; and, while you, in the same breath that you "thanked God that we were yet far, very far indeed, from the end of our pecuniary resources," did, nevertheless, think it advisable "to keep those resources for the purposes of defence and security, and not lavish them away in a further continuation of the contest, with the certainty of enormous expense, with the hazard of making our relative situation worse, and without obtaining so great a degree of security."—[Speech of 3rd Nov. 1801.]

Not to appeal, therefore, to the scores, the hundreds, of pamphlets, essays, and speeches, which were written, or delivered, in defence of the peace, and in all of which, whether coming from your friends or from the old opposition, the plea of necessity was, in some guise or other, strenuously urged; not to appeal to any of these, suffer me to ask you, Sir, what sort of compact that peace must have been, which would have given us a *less* degree of security than we have enjoyed since the peace of Amiens; the peace that merited the "most grateful thanks of the country?" And, if even your imagination can conceive no state of greater insecurity; if merely to provide for our defence became, in ten months after the peace was concluded, an object "quite sufficient to occupy the whole of every man's mind;" if such be our present situation; such the immediate consequences, the clearly foreseen and repeatedly foretold consequences, of the peace which you secretly made, or, at least, openly defended and extolled, what but necessity, what but the last necessity, what but an absolute inability to continue the war another month, can possibly be pleaded in justification of your conduct? Here, then, Sir, is a dilemma, from which there is no getting loose: Lord Belgrave may again pour forth his soul "in expressions of gratitude, upon casting his eyes upon the vessel of state, having weathered the storm, and riding in triumph and security in her native ports;" Mr. Canning may again treat the stock-jobbers and contractors (amongst whom, upon the occasion alluded to, too many persons of high rank and reputation had, as I observed at the time, the weakness to mix) with a versification of his lordship's halcyon ideas; and the younger George Rose, with a degree of piety and delicacy truly worthy of the stock whence he sprang, may again call upon the congregation to "*hallow* the day that gave you birth;" still, in spite of the dignified attachment of those who become partisans merely because it is awkward to be nothing; in spite of that generous gratitude, which, though inspired merely by personal

favours, is so powerful as to extend, in its operation, to the public conduct of the private friend, even if that conduct be in direct hostility to the principles professed by the grateful party; in spite of that hardy adulation, which nobly pushes on to its object, amidst the unanimous hisses and scorn of mankind; in spite of all these, Sir, this grand dilemma will for ever remain: either the peace of Amiens, a peace in which every one of your avowed objects of the war; in which the balance of Europe, the independence of its states, and the tranquillity and security of Great-Britain, were all abandoned; either such a peace as this was made without any necessity for it, or all Mr. Fox's predictions relative to the result of the war were completely fulfilled.

To prove that this notion has not arisen from a *revised* consideration of the subject; to prove that no *recent* change as to parties has produced its promulgation, I have only to quote the words, which I published more than two years ago, and, of course, immediately after the conclusion of the peace. "It must allowed, that, if either the existence, or the conduct, of the war did really render such a peace necessary; if the situation of the country was (which I deny) such as, 'upon the whole and under all the circumstances of Europe,' to render the peace of Amiens advisable; then, it must be allowed, that those who opposed, in all its stages, the prosecution of the war, were, by far, the wisest politicians." Thus it was, then, that you and Mr. Fox appeared in my sight at the conclusion of the peace. He still as widely as ever differing from me as to the war, and differing from me also as to the necessity of the peace; but, being, at the same time, perfectly consistent with himself: while you differed from me full as widely as Mr. Fox did, and while this difference arose from your having turned your back upon those principles, and having flatly falsified those promises, which had before induced me to agree with you. Mr. Fox

triumphed over the cause that I had espoused; a triumph which few persons felt more severely than I did. To be disgracefully beaten, at the end of seven years of such exertions as I had made, was well calculated to increase my hostility to the chief of the Opposition; but, by him I had not been deserted; by him the cause had not been abandoned; him I could not accuse of inconsistency; and, in short, whether the peace was a measure of necessity, or whether it was not, it was impossible not to perceive that it stamped him your superior as a statesman: if the former, greatly your superior in discernment, if the latter, not less your superior in political integrity.

Shall I be told, that my disappointment, and, of course, my anger against you, in consequence of the peace, was owing to my own folly; to my oversanguine disposition; for that your promises must, of course, have been made with an implied reservation as to the effect of subsequent events? In your defence of the peace you had an eye to these promises. "There were times," said you, "during the war, in which government hoped to be able to drive France within her ancient limits, and even to make barriers against her further incursions; but, in this we were disappointed; it became, then, necessary, with the change of circumstances, to change our objects; for I do not know a more fatal error, than to look only at one object, and obstinately to pursue it, when the hope of accomplishing it no longer remains." This was delightfully received by every weak and mean man in the country. It was the very language of that "prudent young man," Lord Hawkesbury, and was echoed from alley to alley, from counter to counter, through every department of the 'Change and the Bank. But, Sir, was not this? in good truth, was it not a most miserable attempt to preserve consistency? "There was a time in which the government hoped!" What! was it thus that "the aspiring blood of Lancaster dropped! I thought it would have mounted!" When the "government hoped!" You should have

said, there were times, during the war, when I *said*, when I *declared*, when I *vowed*, when I most *solemnly pledged myself*, without reservation or qualification, that *I*, and not that indefinite thing called the *government*, never would make peace with France, till I could obtain "an adequate, full, and rational security; till such a peace could be made as would restore to Europe her settled and balanced constitution of general polity, and to every negotiating power in particular its due weight in the scale of general empire." Having said this, you should have proceeded to confess, that events had frustrated your purpose, that your declaration was rash, and that you hoped to be forgiven. Forgiveness, from me, would have been readily granted; but, I never would have put it in your power again to mislead, again to disappoint, again to disgrace either myself or my country. A part, however, and a very material part, of your promises, remain to receive even the sort of justification that I have here been noticing: I mean your promises relative to the pecuniary resources of the country, which promises were, as I have before stated, backed by a very elaborate publication, under the name of your secretary, Mr. Rose, and which publication was printed at the public expense, and transmitted, in French as well as English, I believe, to all foreign courts where we had resident ministers, or other diplomatic agents. These promises were, that, in June 1799, not two years before the negotiation for peace was humbly solicited of a Commissary of Prisoners, such were our pecuniary resources, that "war might be carried on for any length of time, without the creation of new debt, and that it would not be difficult to provide taxes for eight years." Now, Sir, as to this promise, no change of circumstances in the war can possibly avail you aught. You were not the master of warlike events, though you had much to do in producing them; but, of the purse of the country you were the absolute master. All its means were at your command, and the extent of those means was a mere matter of calculation; a point to be settled by the counting of

fingers. Yet this promise, too, was broken; this full and specific and deliberate declaration was contrary to truth; and, Sir, it is beyond the powers of sophistry here to obtain for you any other choice than that which lies between wilful misstatement and inadequate knowledge. The truth is, however, that your partisans attempt no apology; they frankly give up the point; and, with a modesty and morality peculiar to themselves, upbraid me with perverseness for having confided in your declarations and promises; a species of reproach which is exceedingly mortifying, and against which, therefore, as I think you will do me the justice to acknowledge, I have, since the preliminaries of peace, taken every precaution in my power to guard both myself and the public.

But, still your partisans insist, that all this is no justification for my having joined Mr. Fox. Some of them allow, because they have not the face to deny it, that I was fully justified in opposing you; but, they say I should have done it "upon independent ground;" by which they mean, that I should have stood alone; and that, though I might have a right to attack you, I was also to continue to assail your opponents. This doctrine, which is precisely that which was so earnestly inculcated by Mr. Addington's partisan, in the "Cursory Remarks," is not less convenient to a minister than the doctrine of never-ceasing adherence; for if, by any means, no matter what, he can keep his opponents in a state of constant, or even *occasional*, hostility to each other, great indeed must be his imbecility if he fails to give a good account of them one at a time, a practical demonstration of which was given in the shameful state of parties during the administration of the person last named, a state of parties the effects of which the nation will long have to lament. It is curious, too, that, while this doctrine of "*independent opposition*," as it is at once drolly and artfully denominated, is held forth as an essential in the political character; while eternal enmity is to exist amongst all those, who have ever differed from each other, and who are now opposed to the minister, an exactly

opposite doctrine is held and acted upon with respect to all those who will support the minister. If you will but stand and vote on the side of the minister, you may be cordially reconciled to men with whom but yesterday you were in open and violent hostility; while, to persons, together with whom you are in opposition to the minister, you must not be reconciled though there have been time and circumstances more than sufficient to soften your asperity: nay, so preposterous is the whole of this set of principles, that, if there be a person from whom you have ever differed in the whole course of your life, you must not, in opposition to the ministry, agree with him upon any point as to which you never disagreed with him; whereas, in favour of the ministry, you are not only released from this restraint, you are, not only as to new questions, at liberty to agree with those from whom you formerly differed, but, as hath been lately most strongly exemplified, you are at full liberty to agree with them upon the very same questions as to which you have not barely disagreed with them, but as to which you have actually delivered your opinion against them, and have given to that opinion the sanction of a vote!

To those who may relish this doctrine I leave it as a guide: me it does not suit: I am, and ever have been, of opinion, that a party is only to be opposed by a party; a ministry by an opposition, uniting, if possible, all those who are not on the side of the ministry; and that, in order to render such an union efficient, not only all private prejudice, but every minor public consideration, ought to give away. Under the influence of this opinion, thoroughly convinced that you never ought to be prime minister again, and suspecting (what has since proved true), that the open operation of a scheme for your return to the helm was at no great distance, I began, so early as the month of June, 1802, to suggest the necessity of a new-modelling and combination of parties. "The question of peace or war" is now at end; and as the Old Opposition do not stand committed on

“those other great objects of public consideration which will hereafter present themselves, there are five modes of conduct which lie open to their choice; first, they may act in a detached body, as they do at present; secondly, as the allies of some other party; thirdly, as neutrals; fourthly, they may set up a sort of armed neutrality; fifthly, they may divide, and, in the quality of mercenaries, be opposed to each other, without any diminution of that mutual regard and that love of country, which the virtuous Swiss are said to entertain at the very moment when they are plunging the bayonet into each other's breast.” This was not directly pointing out what I wished the Old Opposition to do; it was not directly saying, “join the New Opposition, or you too will become insignificant;” but, that such was the suggestion intended to be conveyed no one can doubt. From this time, however, to the renewal of the war, such was the disjointed state of parties, so completely were the great public men detached from each other, that there appeared no means whereby to endeavour to accomplish a change for the better. The war awakened the leading characters who are now opposed to you, not only to a sense of the dangers of the country, but which was not of less importance, to a due sense of that situation, in which, by the influence of their mutual dread of appearing to be the first to concede, they exhibited the consummately ridiculous spectacle of great men become, through *pride*, the battling puppets of a mere underling, and one, too, from whose name “imbecility” was inseparable. This was too humiliating, too shockingly degrading, long to be endured. Their opposition soon began to assume a milder tone: this change was succeeded by marks of mutual reconciliation, though, as yet, by no evident approaches towards an union of action: for, Sir, it falls to the lot only of the happy few, such as those of whom you lately spoke under the denomination of *Noses*, to change all at once: to open the mouth with a bite, and close with a kiss; to lick the

hand that yet sweats with the labour of lashing them. At the meeting of Parliament, however, in November last, it was evident, that, in spite of all the arts of the ministry, and of others, whom it is not now worth while to mention, a co-operation in Parliament between the Old and the New Opposition was at no great distance.

From the moment that I perceived even a glimmering of hope, that an union of the great men of the country might be accomplished, I lost no opportunity of endeavouring to enforce the necessity of it, and to put to silence those by whom it was opposed; and, finally, I had the pleasure to hear Mr. Fox and Mr. Windham once more publicly exchange the name of “friend.” Still, will your partisans say, that I was to stand aloof? You were, at this time, propping occasionally, and occasionally undermining, the ministry which you had erected, and which had brought upon the country so many and such dreadful mischiefs. Your conduct was, with me, an object of hostility scarcely inferior to theirs; both tended greatly to increase the dangers of the country. Yet, I'll warrant, that your partisans will maintain, that your conduct, be it what it might, could be no inducement for me to turn towards Mr. Fox, notwithstanding there was no other way left of coming at even a chance of effecting such a change of measures as I regarded absolutely necessary to the safety of the State. Besides, Sir, when, of two rivals, one sinks, the other naturally rises in the same degree. Mr. Fox had, in my estimation, and, I believe, in the estimation of the world (for America I will answer), taken an amazing vault above you at the epoch of the peace of Amiens; and, I think, it will hardly be contended, that, when your conduct between the peace and the renewal of the war came to be calmly and conscientiously surveyed; when I saw you first keep aloof from the parliament, without any alleged public reason for so doing, and with the obvious intention to avoid giving support to, and thereby incurring any responsibility for, measures which you yourself had advised and even dictated; when, as the embarrassments of

Mr. Addington increased, I saw you, who had kept from the sittings of parliament under the pretext of ill health, hastening to the treasury, negotiating for place, and quite able and willing to take upon you, in conjunction with Lord Melville, the whole business of the state; when, in consequence of the failure of that negotiation, and of the exposure that ensued, I was enabled clearly to view and correctly to judge of your conduct at the time when you retired from office; when I discovered that, after having prevailed upon your colleagues to retire, because his Majesty would not consent to the measure of catholic emancipation, you offered to remain in office *yourself*, for an indefinite term, without such consent being obtained, though you afterwards explicitly declared in parliament, that the want of such consent was the sole cause of your resignation; when, in putting all these circumstances together, and finding in the negotiations for place no mention of, nor any allusion to, catholic emancipation, reason compelled me to conclude, that your real object in resigning was, to get rid of your intractable colleagues, to court the people by a peace, and to swim along in "peace and plenty," with just such a ministry as that you have now formed; when, in passing over scores of minor political transgressions, and hastening to the close of this climax of cardinal sins, I saw you (to repeat almost my own words relative to your conduct upon Mr. Patten's motion, as viewed in connexion with your negotiations for peace with Mr. Addington), when I saw you ready and willing, provided your terms were acceded to, to enter the cabinet, to join and to co-operate with the men, of the whole of whose principal measures, foreign and domestic, you have since declared your disapprobation, but the leaders of whom you were willing to keep in place and in power provided you amply participated with them; and when I saw you, not being able to obtain the share that you coveted, seizing on the first opportunity for commencing against these men (men whom you had collectively and individually recommended to the parliament) an opposition of the kind

best calculated to render them contemptible and odious in the eyes of the world, being evidently restrained from open and violent hostility only by the fear of giving offence in that quarter where you wished to supplant them; when I had seen all this between the conclusion of the peace and the breaking out of the war, I think, it will hardly be contended, that the interval could fail to produce a powerful bias towards the person who had so long been your rival, and without a co-operation with whom there appeared little prospect of making a successful stand against the strides of your ambition and the destructive tendency of your projects.

With the question upon the address to the King, in answer to his notification of the declaration of war, my opposition to Mr. Fox ceased. New questions arose, questions entirely new both to him and to me; questions whereon to side with him clashed with no opinion I had ever delivered, no wish I had ever expressed, but was perfectly consistent with all those principles of party co-operation and with all those notions of public duty which I had constantly entertained and had frequently expressed, particularly where I had had occasion to speak of the conduct of Mr. Burke, Mr. Windham, and others, in joining you during the last war. As to the more *personal* assaults upon Mr. Fox; general censure, unqualified reproaches, harsh imputations, cutting sarcasms, these are the weapons with which writers fight, especially in times and upon occasions such as those here alluded to: besides, if at a time like that of the conclusion of the peace, when not to be stung to the soul would have argued a total want either of sense as to the present or of sincerity as to the past; if, at a moment, when, smarting under the mortification to which an unmerited confidence in your declarations and promises had exposed me; if, at such a moment, I treated with too much personal severity our triumphant opponent, your partisans, Sir, are certainly not the persons to complain, nor am I the person at present to be censured. Mr. Fox might, indeed, if such could possibly have been the case,

subjected himself to the imputation of meanness, in *coming over to me*; but, it would be an inconsistent sort of reasoning to insist, that, having once been too *personally* violent against Mr. Fox, when writing upon a subject upon which we had long been directly opposed, I am thereby bound to stand aloof from, nay, to abandon, a *public* cause already espoused, lest, in supporting that cause, I should also support Mr. Fox. To inculcate such a principle may be attempted, but it is too inconsistent and perverse not to be instantly rejected by every sensible, candid and disinterested man.

Thus, Sir, I have, I hope, shown, that, in "going over," as it is called, to Mr. Fox, I have departed from no principle that I ever either acted upon or professed; and that (to repeat my proposition), though, in this case, the path pointed out by reason and by honour, by loyalty and by patriotism, was strewn with thorns, I have, in no single instance, deviated from it. Had I chosen the tone of apology instead of that of justification, I should not have been at a loss for superabundant precedent to keep me in countenance; precedent not sought for in the conduct of those leeches of the state, who hang on through all the vicissitudes of sickness and of health; who are transferred from minister to minister, like the lumber of a ready-furnished lodging, and who pass from occupant to occupant as an incumbrance attached to the possession: not of these, Sir, but of yourself, I might have cited the example. As to the doctrine of never-ending adherence, I might have asked, how, consistently with that doctrine, you could have ceased to adhere to Mr. Addington and Lord St. Vincent, whom you had so strongly recommended to the parliament and the nation, of whose capacity for conducting the national affairs you had so strongly censured the Opposition for doubting, and the latter of whom you had described as a person whose name alone was a guarantee for security against all attempts of the enemy; I surely might have asked, how you could, upon the principle now set up in your own behalf, not only cease to adhere to those persons,

not only become their assailants, but affix to their names, names which you bade us consider as synonymous with wisdom and safety, every epithet expressive of their incapacity and of your contempt? I might, with respect to joining with persons from whom one has heretofore widely differed, have inquired upon what principle it was that you joined with Mr. Dundas and Mr. Eden soon after the close of the American war; with the Duke of Portland, the Lords Fitzwilliam and Spencer, and Mr. Windham, at the beginning of the last war; only four months ago with six of those persons who are at this moment in the cabinet with you, and whom you had included in the description of that mass of "incongruity and imbecility," from which you professed your wish to deliver the nation; and, finally, with Mr. Fox himself, without whose co-operation that laudable and patriotic wish could never have been accomplished. If any thing more than the last mentioned circumstance had been necessary to afford a fair inference that you yourself deemed Mr. Fox worthy of the confidence of his Majesty and the Parliament, I might have appealed, not, perhaps, to your public declarations, but certainly to declarations that you solemnly made, and that were repeated by your confidential friends as well as by all the public writers in your interest, who circumstantially described the long efforts you made for the purpose of introducing Mr. Fox into the cabinet, and who, in their anxiety to defend you against the imputation of duplicity, forgot a much higher duty and scrupled not to lay the blame upon the King, though they now have what I must call the profligacy to reproach me with an abandonment of principle because I have joined "citizen Fox," because I have joined that very person, your earnest desire and strenuous efforts to introduce whom into the cabinet formed the only ground upon which they attempted to make an apology for your conduct. And, Sir, as to that eternal resentment which your adherents now represent as the indispensably necessary consequence of personal hostility, need I, in opposition to so diabolical a

principle, have gone further than your offer, nay, I will call it not only your distinct offer, but your invitation and even your solicitation to Mr. Tierney to keep that place, of which, upon his refusal, Mr. Canning, with a condescension equal to your magnanimity, thought proper to accept? To these and many more instances I might have referred, if I had not chosen to stand upon the intrinsic merits of the case; if I had not disdained the thought of recrimination, and if (without any affectation I say it) I had not felt, that, in the eyes of those whose good opinion I most esteem, your example would afford no justification for me.

Here, Sir, fully aware that I have already but too far transgressed the bounds of more than ordinary patience I should put an end to this letter; but, there is one point, which, left untouched, would leave incomplete a subject, to which, I trust, I shall never have occasion to return: I mean, the circumstance of my now opposing you, whom, in my repeatedly-expressed wish to see an union of the *great men* of *all* parties, I must, of course, have included amongst those whom I desired to see in power. Granted: that inclusion was a matter of course: to deny it would be either a subterfuge or a vapid insult. But, Sir, without particular references, I may safely appeal to the memory of all those who have thought my writings worthy of perusal, that, since the peace of Amiens, nay, since the preliminaries of that ignominious and fatal compact, not only have I never spoken of your return to the *prime* ministry as an event to be wished, but that, whenever the subject has been agitated, I have positively declared my dissent from such wish. The truth is, Sir, that having, as far as the compass of my mind will permit, carefully and impartially considered the nature and tendency of the whole of your system; having arrived at a thorough conviction, that that system points directly, and is proceeding with hasty strides, to the subversion of the Church, the ancient Aristocracy, the Throne, and, of course, the liberties and independence of England; and, not less

firmly convinced, that your system is, and must remain, inseparable from your possession of the first place amongst the servants of the King, I thought it my duty to endeavour to prevent your return to that place. Thus thinking, my opposition has been decided, but it has, I trust, also been fair. I never have had recourse, and never shall have recourse, to any of those arts which have been but too often employed against myself. I have never wilfully and deliberately misstated any fact; I have never, except from want of talent, made use of a sophistical argument, or intentionally left a false inference to be drawn; and I never have, on any occasion, addressed myself to, or wished for success from, the vice, the ignorance, or the prejudice, of any description of people. The uniform intention, and, I will add, the uniform effect of my writings, have been, and are, to counteract the efforts of the enemies of monarchy in general, and of the monarchy of England in particular, under whatever guise or denomination those enemies have appeared; to check the spirit and oppose the progress of levelling innovation, whether proceeding from clubs of jacobins, companies of traders, synagogues of saints, or boards of the government; to cherish an adherence to long-tried principles, an affection for ancient families and ancient establishments; to inculcate an unshaken attachment to the person and office of the king, an obedience to the laws, a respect for the magistracy, a profound veneration for the church, and a devotion of fortune and of life to the liberties and glory of the country.

To the weariness which a letter of such length, and upon such a subject, is calculated to produce, I will not add by a ceremonious conclusion; being well aware, too, that if, for having said so much relating to myself, the apology with which I set out, and which was founded upon the great importance of the discussion on which I am about to enter, be not thought sufficient, no other apology can possibly be found.

I am, Sir, your, &c., &c.,

W. COBBETT.

Bolton, Oct. 4, 1804.

LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14.

BANKRUPTS.

Clements, Robert, Upper Berkeley-street West, Connaught-square, bricklayer and builder.
 Cantellow, John, Brownlow-street, Holborn, plasterer.
 Battley, Robert, South Shields, woollen-draper and clothes-dealer.
 Franceys, Samuel, Liverpool, bookseller and printer.
 Taylor, Edmund, Lower-place, near Rochdale, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

Donaldson, Robert, Leith, wine and spirit-merchant.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18.

BANKRUPTS.

Fennings, Richard, Chancery-lane, law-stationer.
 Hutton, James, Piccadilly, baker.
 Lewis, William, Liverpool, merchant.
 Myers, Michael, Saint Peter's-alley, Cornhill, fishmonger.
 Brown, John, Corbridge, Northumberland, spirit-merchant.
 Evans, Daniel, Newport, Monmouthshire, tailor.
 Ives, Charles, Hockwold cum-Wilton, Norfolk, grocer.
 Kearsley, John, Chorley, Lancashire, grocer.
 Peel, Robert, Halifax, card-maker.
 Rankin, Richard, Liverpool, builder.
 Slack, Joseph, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, ship and insurance-broker.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

Bishton, John, Dawley, Shropshire, iron-master.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

Fram, W., Glasgow, grain-merchant.

LONDON MARKETS.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14.

CORN EXCHANGE

The wheat trade is exceedingly dull this morning; but we can quote no alteration from the prices of Monday, which are given nominally, as

on that day. In barley nothing whatever is doing, and the oat trade is very heavy at our last quotations. Beans and peas, as well as other articles of grain, meet no inquiry.

The arrivals are 2950 sacks of flour, 6550 qrs. of wheat, 690 of barley, 2170 of malt, 1280 of oats, 15,570 of Irish oats, and 3360 of foreign oats.

SMITHFIELD.

Beef, for the finest oxen, is quoted at 4s to 4s 2d per stone; and the finest Lincolns and Durhams are 3s 8d to 4s. Coarse old and inferior are 2s 4d to 3s 2d. Mutton, for prime Downs, is at 4s to 4s 4d; and the best Kentish and Leicester wethers are 3s 6d to 4s. Coarse second-rate and inferior meat is 2s 6d to 3s 4d. Prime young calves are at 4s to 4s 8d; and the best young dairy-fed porkers are 3s 6d to 4s.

Head of Cattle at Market.

Beasts, 523—Sheep, 13,206—Calves, 187—Pigs, 374.

Price per stone, sinking offal.

	s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef -	2	4	to 4	2	Veal -	3	8	to 4	8
Mutton	2	6	to 4	4	Pork -	2	2	to 4	0
Lamb -	4	0	to 5	4	Irish -	0	0	to 0	0

Prices of Hay and Straw.

Hay	-	3l	15s	0d to 5l	0s	0d
Clover	-	3l	15s	0d to 5l	10s	0d
Straw	-	1l	16s	0d to 2l	2s	0d

MONDAY, AUGUST 17.

CORN EXCHANGE.

There is a moderate supply of wheat at market this morning, principally new, but it is fully equal to the demand, the consumers holding back from purchasing more than they absolutely require for present use. The factors to effect sales readily submit to a decline of from 1s to 2s per qr.

Fine new malting barley has appeared in the market this morning, but, on account of the malting season not having commenced, little business has been done in it.

Oats are dull sale and are 6d to 1s per quarter lower.

Beans remain as on last market, but white and maple peas are worth 1s per qr more than they were then quoted.

	s.	s.
Wheat, Kent and Essex	-	28 a 42
Suffolk (White)	-	27 a 41
Norfolk	-	27 a 37
Barley	-	24 a 30
Malting	-	33 a 40
Malt	-	00 a 00
Old, ditto	-	00 a 00

Peas, White	-	-	-	28	a	32
Boilers	-	-	-	30	a	33
Grey	-	-	-	28	a	31
Maple	-	-	-	00	a	00
Wh.	-	-	-	00	a	00
do. ord.	-	-	-	00	a	00
Seed, last per	-	-	-	£00	a	00
Rye	-	-	-	30	a	32
Beans, Small	-	-	-	36	a	40
Old	-	-	-	00	a	00
Old Tick	-	-	-	35	a	38
Oats, Feed	-	-	-	20	a	23
Old	-	-	-	00	a	00
Poland	-	-	-	21	a	24
New ditto	-	-	-	00	a	00
Old	-	-	-	00	a	00
Potato	-	-	-	23	a	25
Scotch	-	-	-	00	a	00
Flour, per sack	-	-	-	29	a	33
Do. Fine	-	-	-	29	a	33

SMITHFIELD.

The finest oxen this morning are at 4s to 4s 2d per stone, and the best Lincolns and Durhams are 3s 8d to 4s, coarse and inferior oxen, and those of second-rate quality, range from 2s 6d to 3s 2d. In mutton, the primest Downs are worth 4s 2d to 4s 4d, and the best Kentish and Leicester wethers are 3s 10d to 4s; second-rate sheep and ewes are 3s to 3s 6d; and coarse old and inferior meat 2s 6d to 2s 10d. In pork, dairy-fed porkers are 3s 6d to 4s; large and coarse hogs 2s 8d to 3s 2d. The finest young calves fetch 4s 4d to 4s 8d, and large and coarse meat 3s 6d to 4s.

Head of Cattle at Market.
Beasts, 2680—Sheep and Lambs, 31,185—Calves, 243—Pigs, 420.

Price per stone, sinking offal.

	s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.	s.	d.		
Beef -	2	6	to	4	2	Veal -	3	6	to	4	8
Mutton	2	6	to	4	4	Pork -	2	2	to	4	0
Lamb -	4	0	to	5	4						

HAY AND STRAW MARKET.

Hay	-	3l	15s	0d	to	4l	5s	0d
Clover	-	4l	10s	0d	to	5l	5s	0d
Straw	-	1l	15s	0d	to	2l	2s	0d

NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL.

MONDAY, AUG. 17.

By the Carcase, per stone of 8 lbs.

Inferior Beef	-	2s	0d	a	2s	2d
Middling ditto	-	2s	4d	a	2s	6d
Prime large ditto	-	2s	8d	a	3s	2d
Ditto to small ditto	-	3s	4d	a	3s	6d
Large Pork	-	2s	6d	a	2s	10d

LEADENHALL.

Prime Mutton	-	3s	2d	a	3s	6d
Middling ditto	-	2s	6d	a	3s	0d
Inferior ditto	-	2s	2d	a	2s	4d
Veal	-	3s	0d	a	4s	4d
Small Pork	-	3s	10d	a	4s	4d
Lamb	-	3s	8d	a	4s	10d

PRICE OF FUNDS.

	Friday.	Saturday.	Monday.	Tuesday.	Wednesday.	Thursday.
Bank Stock	215½		214½ 215			215½
3 per Cent. Red.	90½ 90½	90½	90½ 3/8	90½		
3 per Cent. Cons.	89½ 90½	89½	89½	89½		89½ 3/8 5/8 1/4
3½ per Cent. Red.	98½ 99	98½	99½ 1/4	98½ 9		90 89½ 90½
New 3½ per Cent.	97½ 98½	98½	98½	98½		
Long Annuities	16½	16 7-86½	16½ 7-16			16 7-16
India Stock			254 5		254½	254½
India Bonds	5	5 7	6 8	5 7	7 46	4 6
Exchequer Bills	20 24	20 22	21 3	19 21	19 20	18 20
Consols for Acct.	89 90	89½	89½ 3/4	89½ 3/4	89½ 3/4 1/2	89½ 3/8 3/4
Brazilian		85½	85½ 6	86 7	86½ 1/4 1/2	86½ 3/8 1/4
Mexican 6 per Ct.	36	36 37	34 5	34 5	34 5½ 6	35½
Portuguese Reg.	89½	89½	89½ 3/4	87½	87½ 7½	86
3 per Ct.	56½	56½ 7½	57½ 3/4			
Spanish	46½	47½ 8	48½ 3/4	43½ 4½		41½ 1/2 1½
Russian	109½	109½ 3/4	109½ 3/4	109½ 3/4		109½ 1/2 1/4
Dutch	54½	54½	54½ 3/4	53½ 4½	54 3½	53½ 4 1/4
Belgian	100½	100½	100½	100½		100½ 1/4
French 5 per Cent.						
Columb. 3 per Cent.	35½	35 36	33 4	31½ 2½	27	27½